World of Art

Photomontage

Dawn Ades

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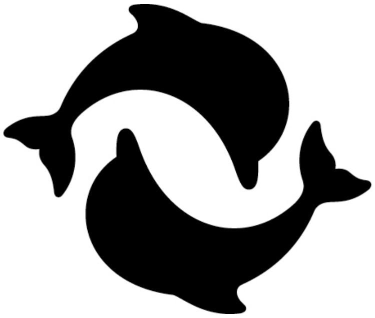

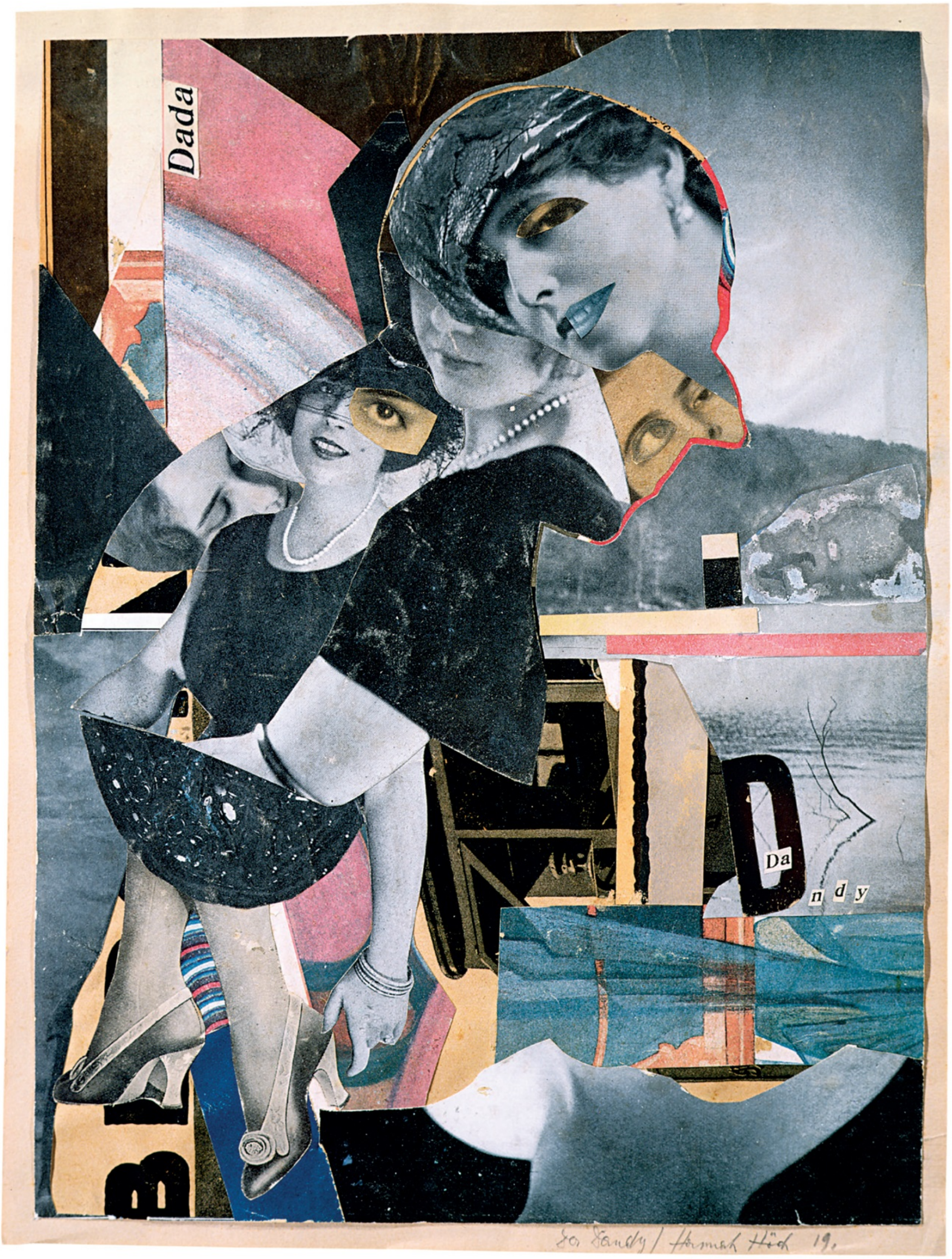
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1 Helen Lundeberg (1908–1999), *Blue Planet*, 1965

World of Art

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Dawn Ades

Third edition

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About the Author

Dawn Ades is Professor Emerita of the History and Theory of Art at the University of Essex. She has written extensively on Dada, Surrealism, photography and women artists, among other things. Publications include *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed* (1978), *Photomontage* (1976), *Dalí* (1995), *Writings on Art and Anti-Art* (2015) and *Marcel Duchamp* (with Neil Cox and David Hopkins, 2021). Among the exhibitions she has organized or co-organized are ‘Art in Latin America’ (1989); ‘Fetishism: Visualising Power and Desire’ (1995); ‘Salvador Dalí: The Centenary Retrospective’ (2004); ‘Undercover Surrealism’ (2006); and ‘Dalí/Duchamp’ (2017–18).

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Preface

Photomontage was first published in 1976, and a new edition appeared in *The World of Art* series in 1986. In this second edition, the considerable amount of critical and historical materials published in the intervening years, in particular in relation to Dada, Constructivism and Surrealism, were brought to bear on the text; new material was included where appropriate, retaining the emphasis on photomontage in the 1920s and 1930s; and certain sections were revised. A thematic structure with chapters replaced the single text, and the images were integrated rather than being massed in a block at the back of the book. However, the format of the pages was considerably smaller than in the original, which led to the compression of some of the images, a problem that has as far as possible been rectified here. Otherwise, the themed chapters in this revised edition are the same. Some more recent material has been added and some earlier omissions made good, but by no means all; adequately to cover these would require another book.

The original publication of *Photomontage* coincided with a surge of interest among artists in the possibilities of photomontage. The work of some of those who reactivated photomontage in the 1970s, notably Linder, is included in this new edition. Linder told me how important the book had been for her, as a student in Manchester: ‘Musically, sartorially and graphically, we started to cut things up – we cut up our hair, our coats and our magazines…I don’t think you could have choreographed the timing of *Photomontage* any better.’ [1]

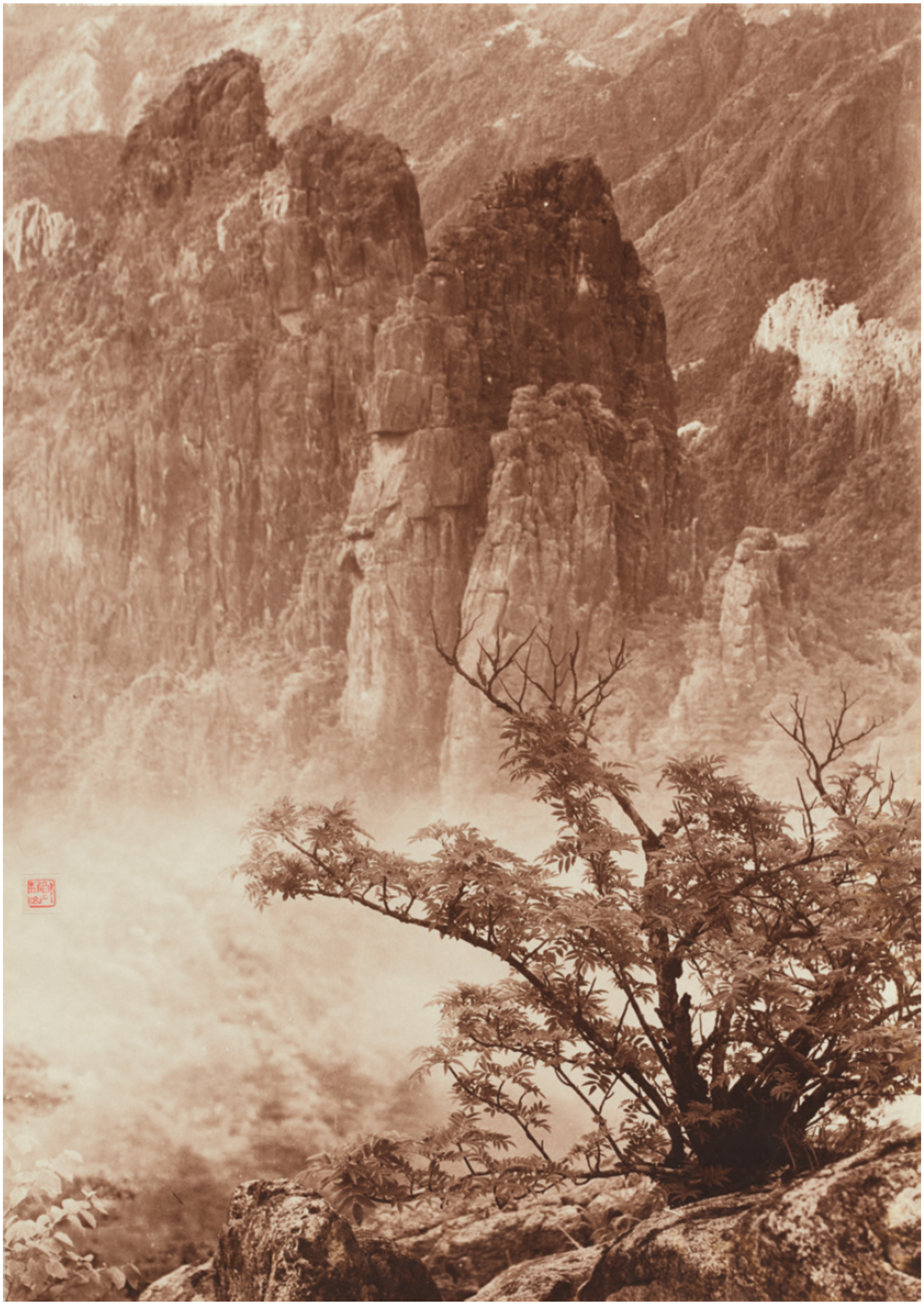
Revisiting ‘photomontage’ for this new edition – both my book, and the subject itself – has highlighted changes in visual culture that deserve comment. The first is to do with technological developments, with the primacy now of screen over print, and the incredibly sophisticated advances in digital imaging. These have an interesting relationship with the practices of photomontage, the effects of which they can seemingly replicate. Almost anything can be visually manipulated, re-cast and re-combined with the resources of photoshop or other similar and even more advanced programmes. Secondly, over the last few decades the term ‘photomontage’ in art history and exhibition and museum labelling has been widely replaced by ‘collage’. The implication in both cases is that photomontage has had its day, if it ever had one. Apparently, it has been overtaken by technology and expunged from history.

If this were the case, a new edition of this book would have little other than a certain archival interest. But it seems to me that photomontage remains a term with deep critical significance, and retains considerable ongoing traction as a practice. Alright, *define it then*, you may say. Definitions of ‘photomontage’ (subsequent to its first appearance) are legion and contradictory; they are scrutinized in the Introduction (pp. 10–23). They tend to depend on the position of the person doing the defining – broadly speaking, on whether they are historians of modern art or historians of photography. When the term was chosen by the Berlin Dadaists in about 1919, it was specifically to distance themselves from art and Modernist aesthetics, and certainly *not* to constitute a new technical manifesto. But neither was it a deliberate inscription into a photographic tradition that went back to the beginnings of photography. Photomontage refused either parentage. Photomontage essentially concerns the juxtaposition of unrelated, readymade photographic images whose original significance or intention would thereby be uncovered, disrupted, flouted or enhanced. They may be fragments glued together – of existing photographs or negatives to be printed – or whole photographic images superimposed in the darkroom, or any variation thereon. The purposes of the juxtapositions may be very different – combinations and contrasts that shock, surprise, incite, reveal, seduce or placate. The crucial thing is the readymade image – recognizable by anyone and more likely than not from popular culture. Photomontage should not, therefore, be subsumed into collage, though there is no hard and fast division. ‘Collage’ is a very general term, signifying adding some extraneous material onto a surface – canvas, paper, board. Beginning with Picasso and Cubism, the practice of sticking real newspapers, sheets of music, sand and so on to the canvas and not imitating them in paint was a gauntlet thrown down at photography’s claim to give a truthful image of the external world. But even if collage was initially a form of realism, it can include any material, abstract as well as figurative, thereby covering a much broader and more amorphous visual field than photomontage, which was always primarily concerned with the power of the image.[2]

So photomontage should have an identity distinct from collage – but what about its position regarding new technologies, which could be seen as having usurped its place? Digital manipulation can mimic the effects of photomontage, but it cannot replicate the final physical and material effect of the encounter with the found images. In some ways digital images are best compared to the earliest manipulations of photography and its attempts to create a realistic image, whether of a natural scene or an idealistic or mythological one. Advances in digital image-making are mostly in the direction of persuading the viewer of the veracity of what they are seeing, often in the interests of commerce or politics – smoothing out the sutures, convincing the viewer of the truth of its presentation. The 'deepfakes' of today are a direct descendant of the tampered negative or airbrush that allowed, for example, Stalin to erase Trotsky from the photographic record of the Communist Party. Photomontage, by contrast, has a critical or transformative purpose in the juxtaposition of images: their apparent significance or intention is under scrutiny.

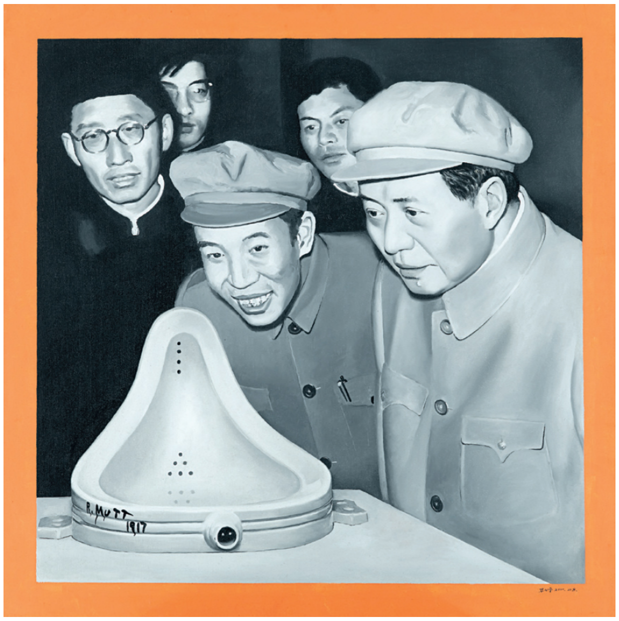
Since *Photomontage* first appeared in 1976, changing conditions around image copyright have affected both the practice itself and the publication of the works. While the rights of visual artists over their own work quite rightly need protecting, copyright issues have also impacted certain artistic processes, of which photomontage, insofar as it can be a kind of appropriation, is one. This has changed access to and use of images in a totally unforeseen manner.

Photomontage, in various of its many possible forms, has accompanied the development of photography and its ambiguous relationship with painting all over the world. For example, Lang Jinshan, a pioneer of photography in China, developed a subtle method of superimposing different images onto a single print to create scenes that look remarkably like Chinese landscape paintings. The liberties taken with scale and the conjunction of different images might first be ascribed by the viewer to the traditions of Chinese landscape painting rather than to photographic manipulation.[2]



2 Lang Jingshan *Majestic Solitude*, 1934

A more recent work, also by an artist based in China, takes aim at the relationship between a very different painting tradition (Socialist realism) and photomontage, as well as at artistic fashions and ingratiating politics. What appears at first sight to be a news shot of Mao admiring Marcel Duchamp’s *Fountain* is quickly re-registered as a photomontage, with Mao inserted in a realistic way, rather like a deepfake video; but in fact, Shi Xinning’s image is a hyperrealist painting.[3]



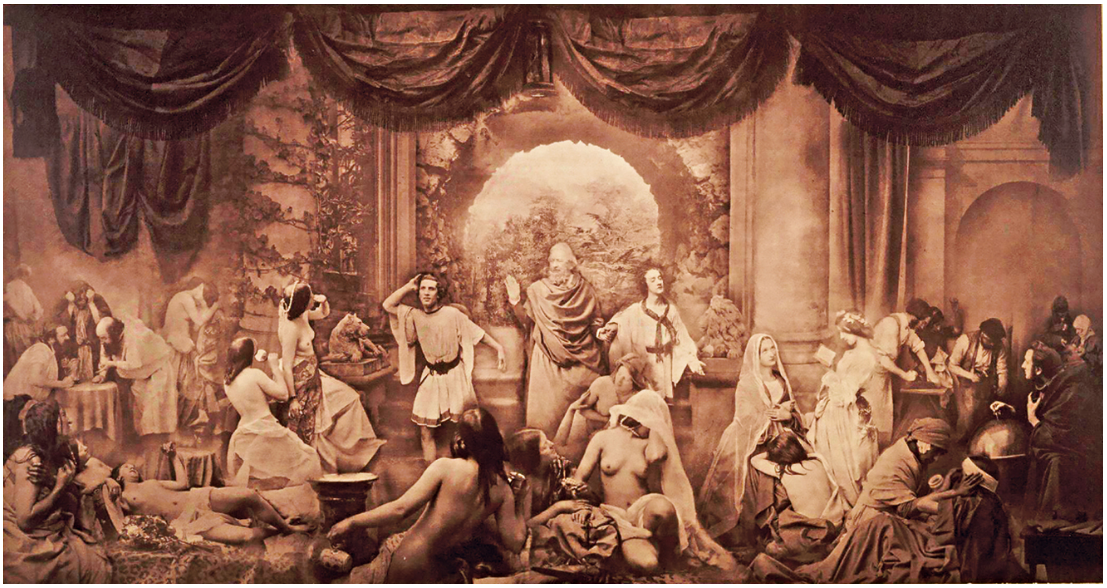
3 Shi *Xinning*, *Duchamp Retrospective exhibition in China*, 2000–1. A painting mimicking a photomontage pretending to be a photograph of an unexpected encounter.

Introduction

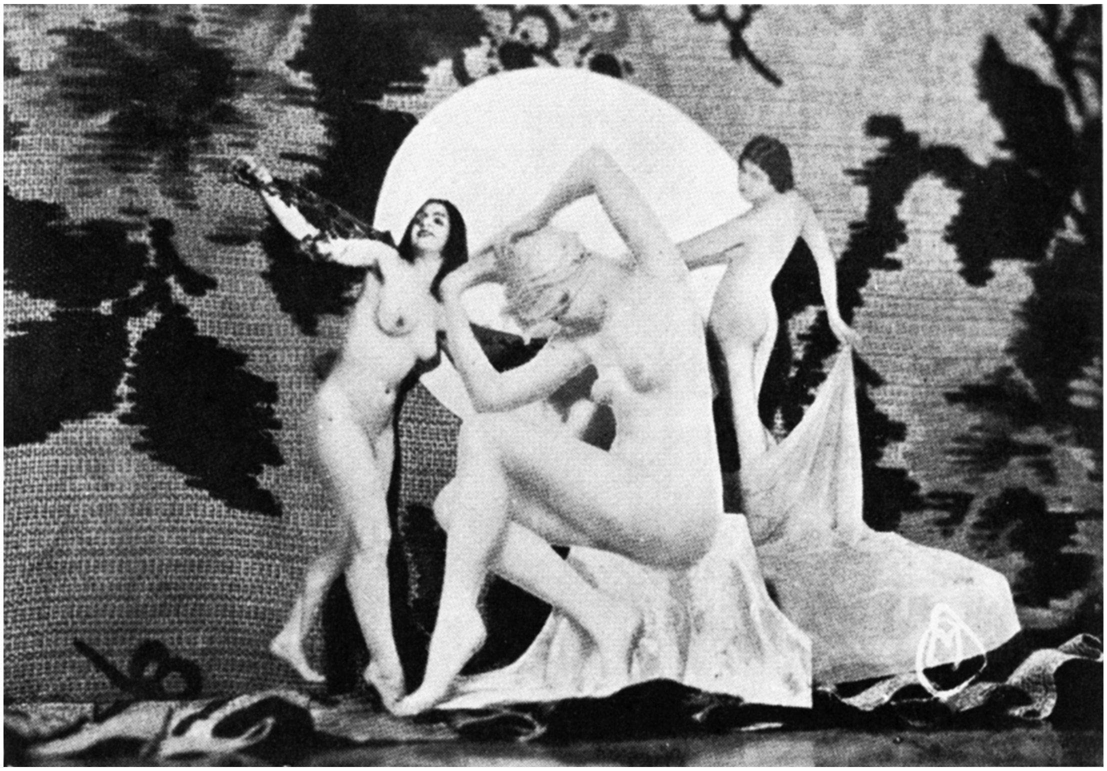
Manipulation of photographs is as old as photography itself. One of the earliest photographic processes, Henry Fox Talbot’s ‘photogenic drawing’, developed during the 1830s, involved the direct contact-printing of leaves, ferns, flowers and drawings, and was rediscovered and put to use with an almost infinite repertoire of objects by Man Ray, Christian Schad and László Moholy-Nagy in their ‘photograms’ of the 1920s.[**4**] Double exposures, ‘spirit photographs’ (sometimes an unexpected result when an old collodion plate was imperfectly cleaned and the previous image dimly appeared on the picture), double printing and composite photographs are all enthusiastically discussed in popular nineteenth-century books on ‘photographic amusements’ and trick photography. Cutting out and reassembling photographic images belonged on the whole to the realm of popular diversions – comic postcards, photograph albums, screens and military mementoes.[1]

4 William Henry Fox Talbot, *Photogenic Drawing*, *c*. 1835

The practice of combining photographs or photographic negatives also took place in a ‘high art’ or ‘pictorial’ context. One of the grandest examples was Oscar G. Rejlander’s *The Two Ways of Life* (1857) which was made up from more than thirty separate negatives.[5] As Walter Woodbury described it in *Photographic Amusements*, first published in 1896, ‘each in turn was laid upon the sensitive paper…and all except the part that was to be printed was covered with black velvet.’ The epic scope of the final work (40.6 × 76.2 cm / 16 × 30 in.), its elaborate composition and allegorical aspirations clearly align it with classical academic painting, and Rejlander certainly thought of his ‘multiple pictures’ in relation to painting: ‘to show the artist how useful photography might be as an aid to their art, not only in details but in preparing what may be regarded as a most perfect sketch of their composition.’ A simpler method of constructing composite pictures was that used by, for example, John Morrissey, whereby ready-made pictures were re-photographed.[6] In his composite picture of 1896, reproductions of pictures from *American Photography* were cut out, pasted together and re-photographed against a specially prepared background.

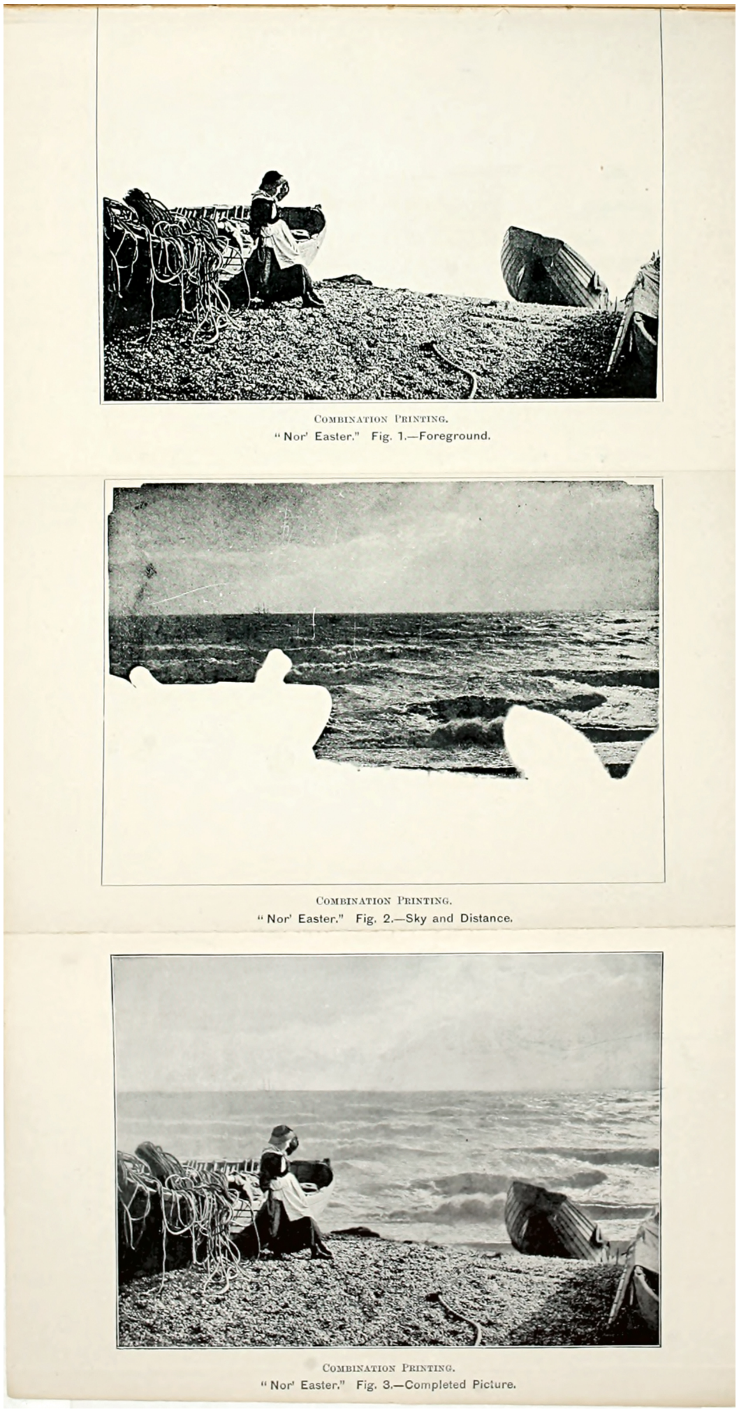


5 Oscar G. Rejlander, *The Two Ways of Life*, 1857



6 John P. Morrissey, composite photograph, 1896

It was common practice in the nineteenth century to use combination printing to add figures to a landscape photograph, and to print in a different sky. The latter type of combination printing was used to compensate for defects in early photographic processes, for it was almost impossible, as the painter-turned-professional-photographer Henry Peach Robinson explained, to obtain in one exposure both sharp foreground detail and interesting skies. Robinson achieved impressive meteorological effects like the storm clouds in *Nor'Easter* (from *Art Photography*, 1890) by combining two different exposures.[7] In combination printing only a part of each negative is used, the unused part being blanked out, while in double exposure, as Woodbury explains it, either the whole of two negatives is printed or two exposures are made on the same negative and printed.



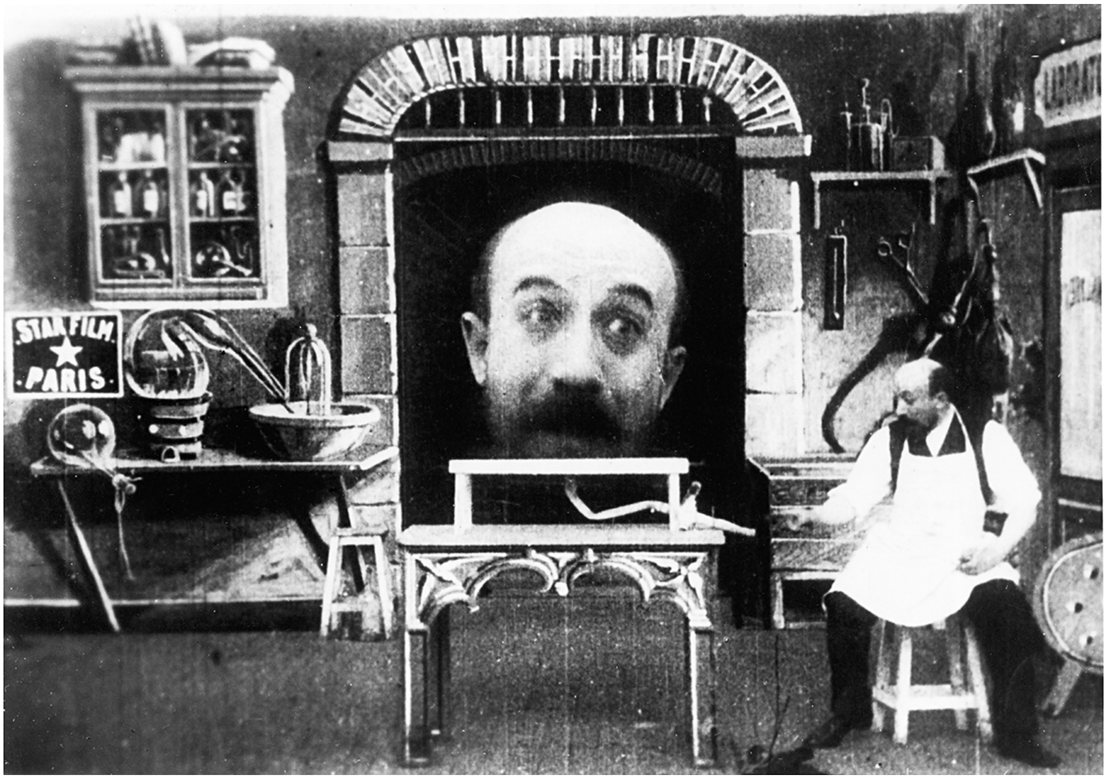
Combination Printing.
“Nor’ Easter.” Fig. 1.—Foreground.

Combination Printing.
“Nor’ Easter.” Fig. 2.—Sky and Distance.

Combination Printing.
“Nor’ Easter.” Fig. 3.—Completed Picture.

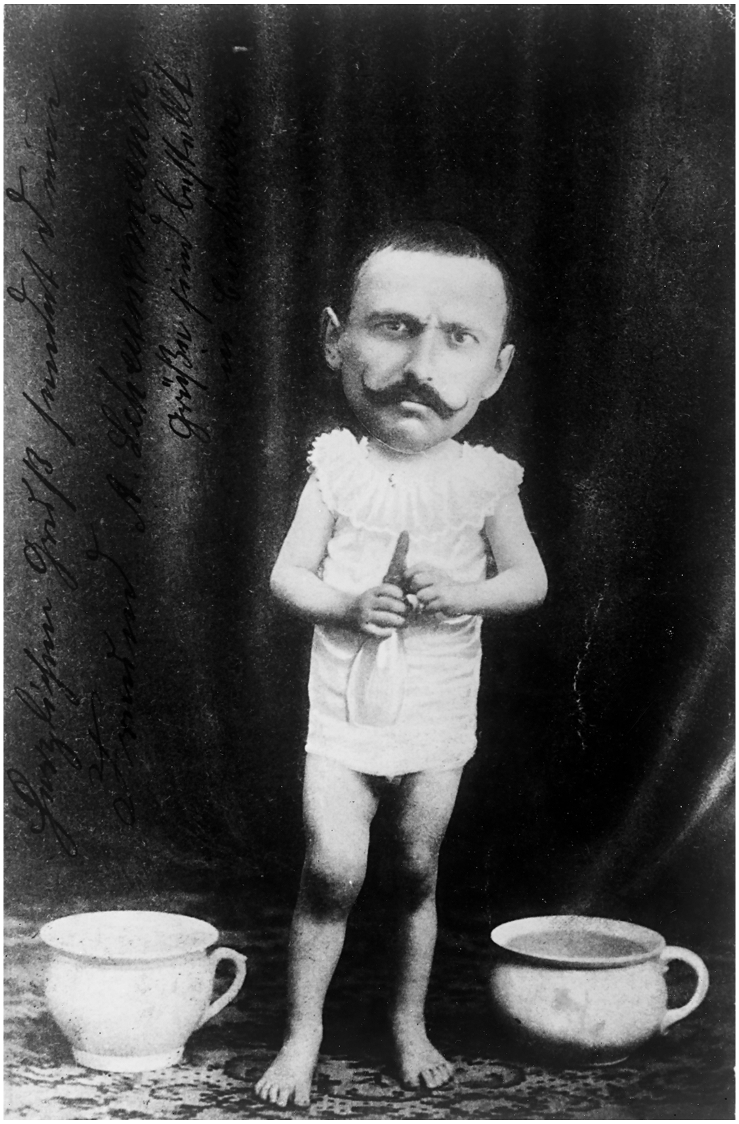
7 H. P. Robinson, *Nor’ Easter,* from *Art Photography*, 1890

Not all photographers regarded these practices as legitimate: the members of the Photographic Society in France were banned from exhibiting composite works.[2] The practice of combination printing lingered on in the work of Robinson, for example, even after improvements in photographic materials rendered it no longer necessary, while trick photography retained its fascination. The then-young field of cinema was a natural site for the magic of optical tricks. Georges Méliès was one of the first film directors to experiment with trick photography.[3] In the sequence illustrated here, from *Man with the Rubber Head* (1902), Méliès appears to blow up his own (severed) head with a pair of bellows; this was done by re-exposing the film and progressively reducing the distance between himself and the camera.[**8**] In other films like *Voyage dans la lune* and *Les Quatre cent coups du Diable*, he used painted sets and constructed objects combined with photographs. But it was in a different context from that of film, or of amateur or professional photography, that photomontage as it forms the subject of this book originated.

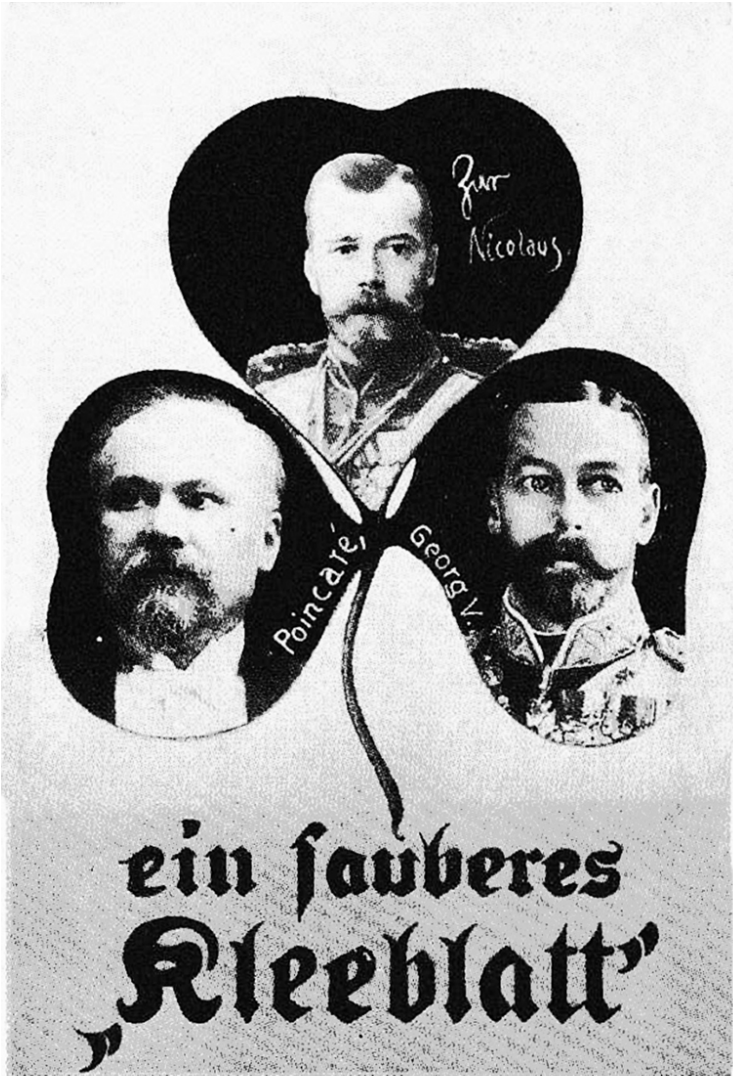


8 Georges Méliès, still from *Man with the Rubber Head*, 1902

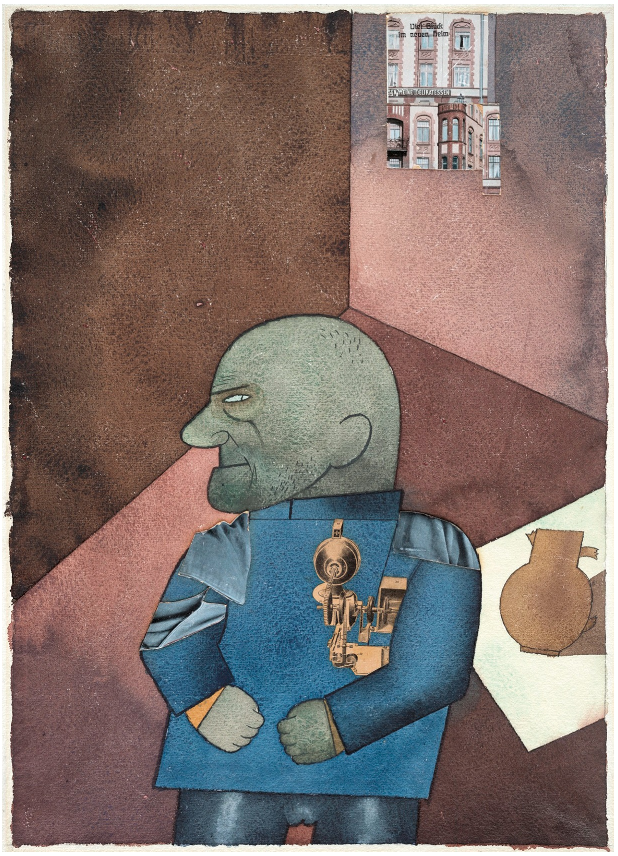
The term ‘photomontage’ was not invented until just after the First World War, when the Berlin Dadaists needed a name to describe their new technique of introducing photographs into their works. There are earlier, isolated examples of the use of photographs in the context of Cubist and Futurist collage. In Carlo Carrà’s *French Official observing enemy* *movements* (1915), part of a photo of Marshal Joffre inspecting troops at the front is pasted in place of the head of the drawn figure. Kazimir Malevich included two photographic fragments in *Woman at an advertising pillar* (1914). Although in these cases the pasted photographs are more frankly illustrational than most Cubist or Futurist collage, they are still incorporated into what is primarily a drawing or a painting. For the Dadaists, the photographs or combined fragments of photographs became the primary structuring materials of the picture. The word gained currency, therefore, in the context of an art (or anti-art) movement. It was chosen with rare unanimity by the Berlin Dadaists, although they were later to dispute its exact historical origins within their own group. ‘Seized with an innovatory zeal,’ wrote Raoul Hausmann, ‘I also needed a name for this technique, and in agreement with George Grosz, John Heartfield, Johannes Baader, and Hannah Höch, we decided to call these works *photomontages*. This term translates our aversion at playing the artist, and, thinking of ourselves as engineers (hence our preference for workmen’s overalls) we meant to construct, to assemble [*montieren*] our works.’[4] *Montage* in German means ‘fitting’ or ‘assembly line’, and *Monteur* ‘mechanic’ or ‘engineer’. John Heartfield, perhaps the best-known practitioner of photomontage, was known as the Monteur Heartfield by the Dadaists, not simply because of his photomontages, but in recognition of a shared attitude towards their work and its relation to existing artistic hierarchies.[**11**]



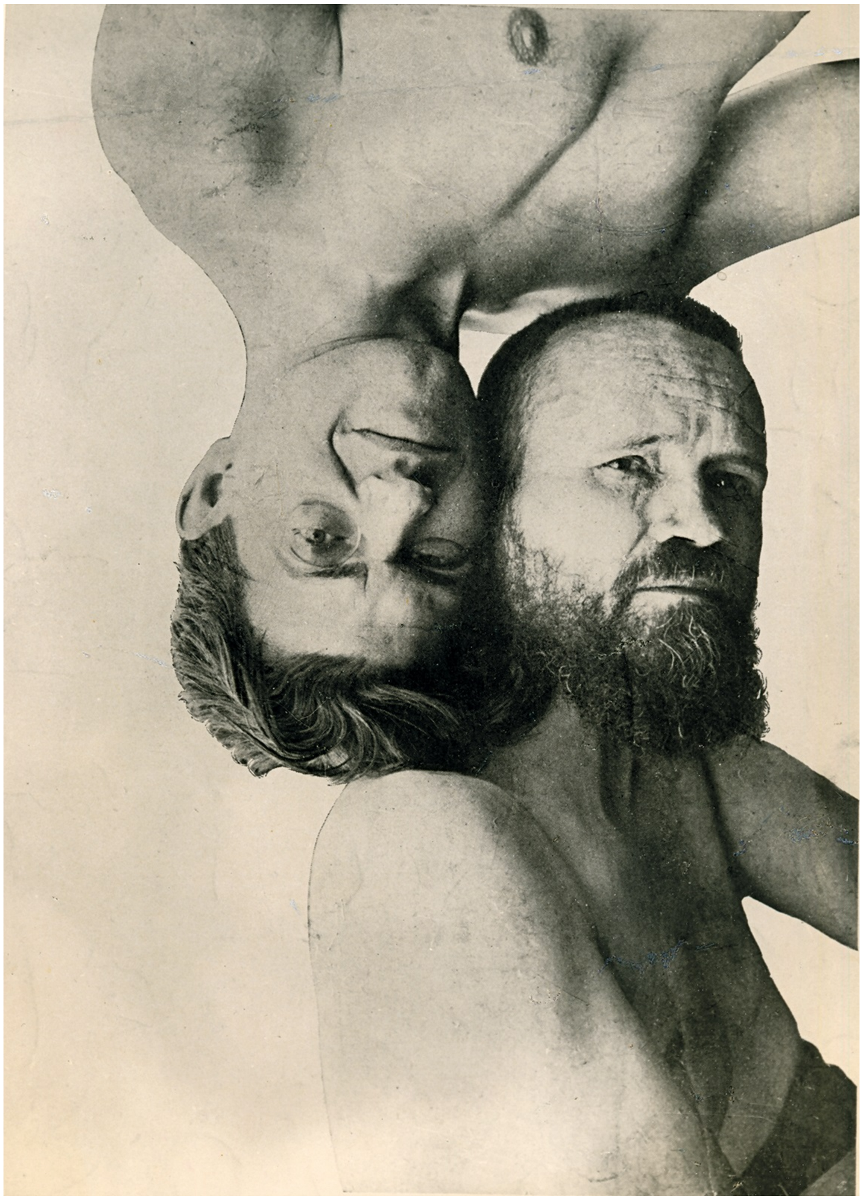
9 German postcard, *c*. 1902


Zar Nicolaus.
Poincaré
Georg V.
ein ſauberes „Kleeblatt"

10 *A Fine Trio*, 1914: postcard of Poincaré, Tsar Nicholas and George V, allied against Germany in the First World War


Viel Glück
im neuen Heim
SEN WEINE DELIKATESSEN

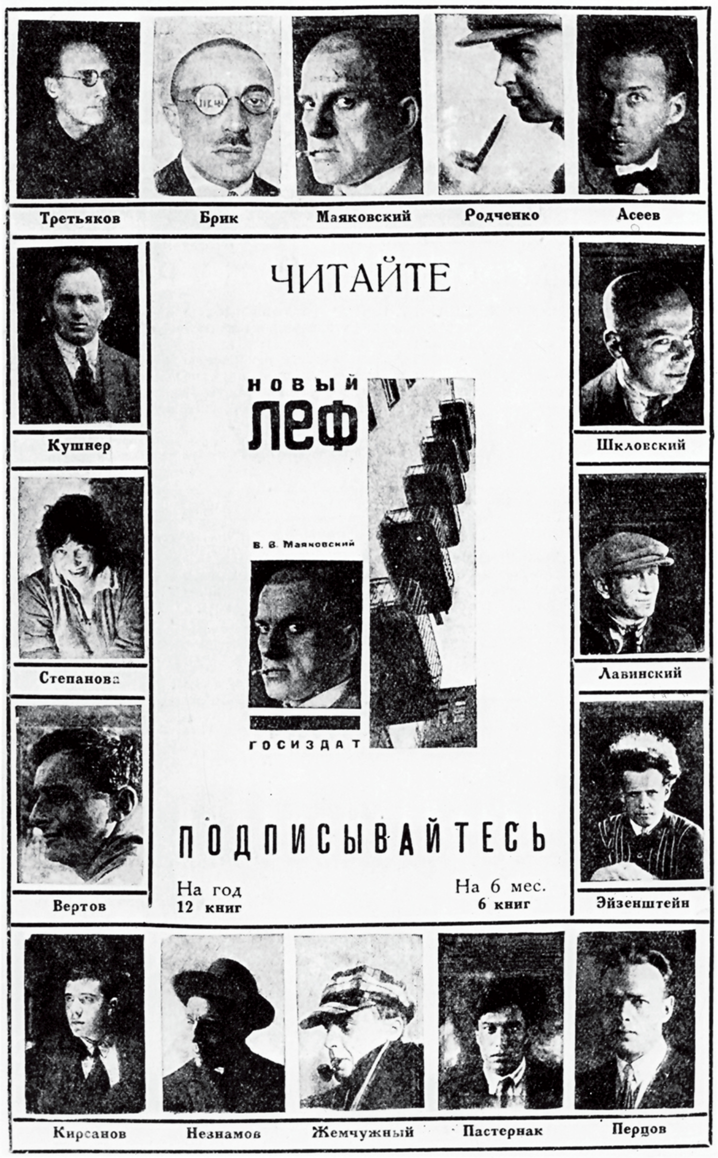
11 George Grosz, *Heartfield the Mechanic*, 1920



12 Raoul Hausmann, *Double Portrait: Hausmann–Baader*, 1920

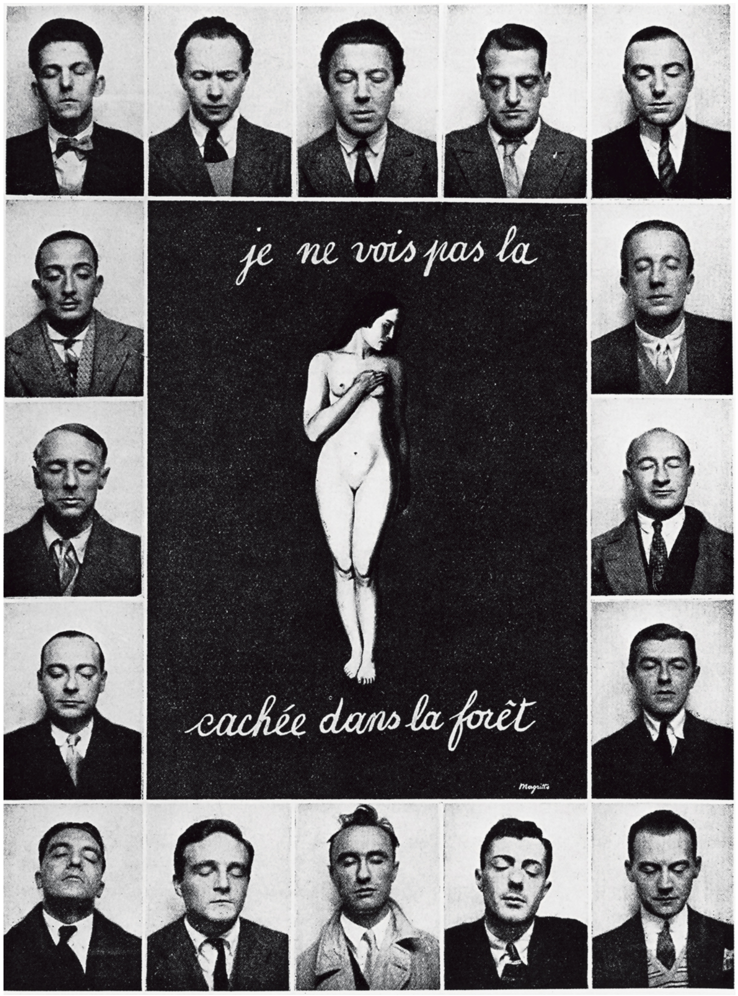
The Berlin Dadaists used the photograph as a ready-made image, pasting it together with cuttings from newspapers and magazines, lettering and drawings to form a chaotic, explosive image, a provocative dismembering of reality. From being one element among several, the photograph became dominant in Dada pictures, for which it was peculiarly effective and appropriate material. Its use was part of the Dadaists' reaction against oil painting, which is essentially unrepeatable, private and exclusive. It belonged to the technological world, the world of mass communication and photo-mechanical reproduction.[5] When Hannah Höch said of photomontage: ‘Our whole purpose was to integrate objects from the world of machines and industry in the world of art,’[6] I think she meant it in the sense that the materials of photomontage, particularly newspaper photographs and newsprint, were made by mechanical processes, as well as in the iconographical sense.

The Russian Constructivists, who began to experiment with the introduction of photographic material at about the same time, were to value photomontage for similar reasons. For both the Berlin Dadaists and the Russian Constructivists, there was a need to move away from the limitations of abstraction, the dominant mode of avant-garde art, without returning to figurative painting.[**13**, **14**] For both groups, the photograph, with its special relation to reality, provided a solution; although under the different conditions in which they were working, each group was to use it for different ends.


Третьяков
Брик
Маяковский
Родченко
Асеев
ЧИТАЙТЕ
Кушнер
Шкловский
НОВЫЙ
ЛЕФ
В. В. Маяковский
ГОСИЗДАТ
Степанова
Лавинский
ПОДПИСЫВАЙТЕСЬ
На год
12 книг
На 6 мес.
6 книг
Вертов
Эйзенштейн
Кирсанов
Незнамов
Жемчужный
Пастернак
Перцов

Two group portraits of artists and writers associated with major reviews of the 1920s.

13 A page from *Novy Lef*, 1927, with, clockwise from top left: Tretyakov, Brik, Mayakovsky, Rodchenko, Aseev, Shklovsky, Lavinsky, Eisenstein, Pertsov, Pasternak, Zhemchuzhny, Neznamov, Kirsanov, Vertov, Stepanova, Kushner. They represent a broad-based group of ‘left’ artists, writers and filmmakers, including Constructivists.

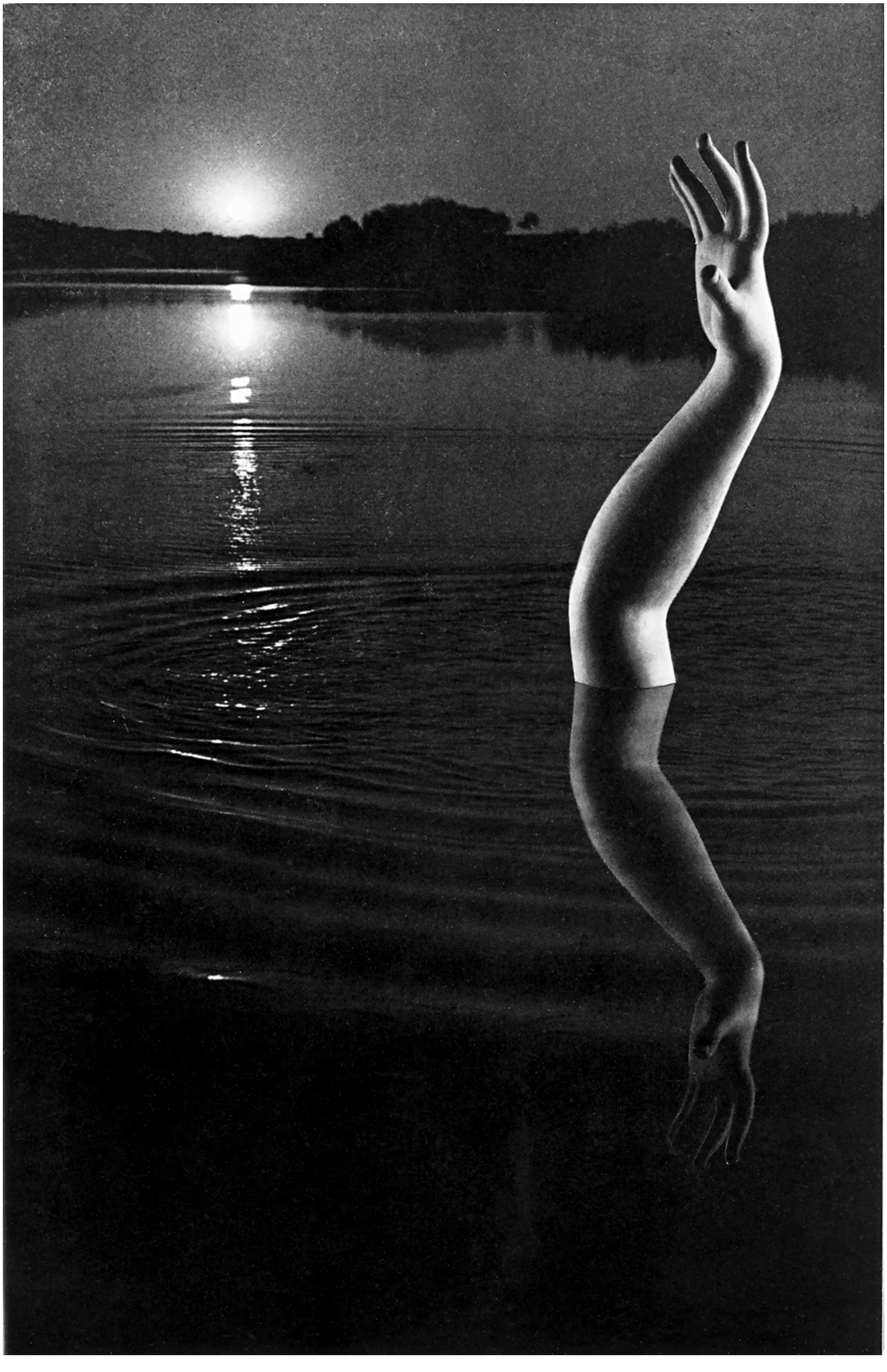


14 A montage from *La Révolution surréaliste*, 1929, with photographs of Surrealists surrounding René Magritte's painting *I Do Not See the* (Woman) *Hidden in the Forest*, clockwise from top left: Alexandre, Aragon, Breton, Buñuel, Caupenne, Eluard, Fourrier, Magritte, Valentin, Thirion, Tanguy, Sadoul, Nougé, Goemans, Ernst, Dalí. This montage parallels a similar group portrait from the first issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*; they could be compared with the obsessive use of portraits and self-portraits in Dada photomontages. Breton, like Mayakovsky, is placed top centre, in a position of dominance.

Dada photomontage was invented within the context of, although in opposition to, collage. The name was clearly chosen to distance the two activities, and Dada recognized a very different potential in the new technique. Louis Aragon, in his essay of 1923 on Max Ernst's collages and photomontages, 'Max Ernst, peintre des illusions', sees a fundamental difference between Ernst's works and Cubist collage: 'For the Cubists, the postage stamp, the newspaper, the box of matches that the painter sticks on to his pictures, have the value of a test, an instrument of control of the reality itself of the picture…. With Max Ernst it is quite different…collage with him becomes a poetic procedure, completely opposite in its ends to Cubist collage, whose intention is purely realistic.’[7] In a later essay, ‘La peinture au défi’ (1930), Aragon distinguishes between the two quite distinct categories of collage: the first is that in which the stuck element is of value for its representational qualities; the second, for its material qualities. In the second, he suggests, collage operates only as an enrichment of the palette, while the first is prophetic of the direction it is to take, ‘where the thing expressed is more important than the manner of expressing it, where the object represented plays the role of a word’[8] – the direction taken by Ernst.

There is little general agreement over the definition of ‘photomontage’ among artists and historians; the word does not appear in the Oxford English Dictionary. The Penguin English Dictionary gives ‘composite picture made from several photographs; art or process of making this’. Recently the word has tended to be used more in connection with photographic processes and darkroom techniques like printing from two or more different negatives (the ‘combination printing’ of the nineteenth century) than with cutting up and reassembling photographs as in the original Dada photomontages. William Rubin, for example, in his catalogue to the 1968 exhibition ‘Dada, Surrealism and their Heritage’ at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, stated: ‘The most significant contribution of the Berlin group was the elaboration of the so-called photomontage, actually a photo-collage, since the image was not montaged in the darkroom.’[9] Sergei Tretyakov, on the other hand, writing about John Heartfield in 1936, took a different position: ‘It is important to note that a photomontage need not necessarily be a montage of photos. No: it can be photo and text, photo and colour, photo and drawing.’[10] He quotes Heartfield himself in support: ‘A photograph can, by the addition of an unimportant spot of colour, become a photomontage, a work of art of a special kind.’ Although Heartfield is talking about additions to a single photograph and not of several photographs with additional elements, it is clear that it is not the technical process that interests him, but the idea; the operation that transforms the meaning of the original photograph. The definitions of Rubin and Tretyakov are very different, the first assuming that photomontage is a specific technique, the second that it must signify in a particular way. Tretyakov goes on to say: ‘If the photograph, under the influence of the text, expresses not simply the fact which it shows, but also the social tendency expressed by the fact, then this is already a photomontage.’

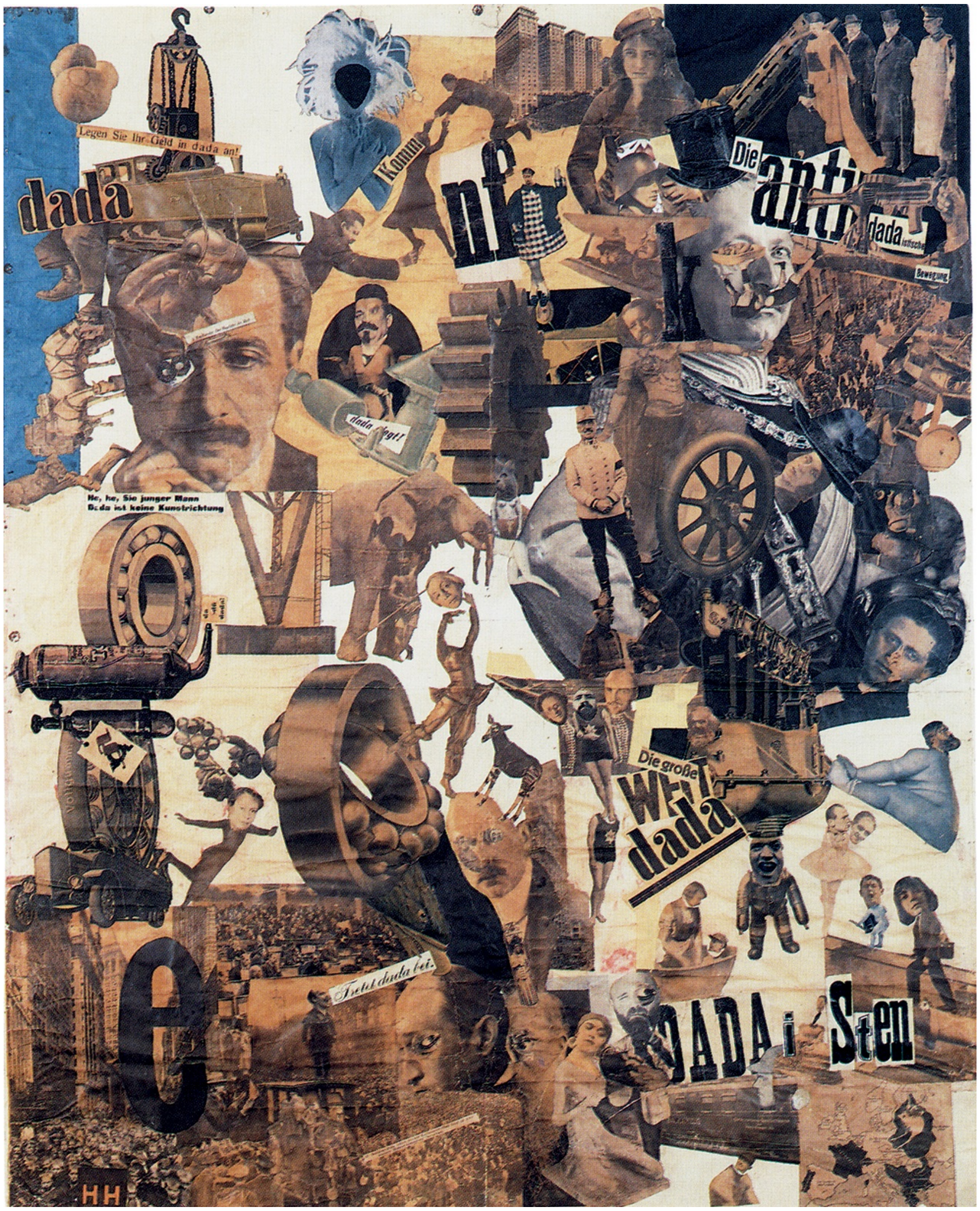
Only in the 1930s did the different users of photomontage – on the one hand amateur and professional photographers experimenting in the darkroom, and on the other hand artists who turned to the photograph, for various reasons, as a ready-made figurative element – become fully aware of each other. The 1931 edition of *Photographic Amusements* included an essay by Henry Potamkin mentioning and illustrating Moholy-Nagy, Man Ray and Bruguière. Some of the illustrations in Marcel Natkin’s *Fascinating Fakes in Photography* (London, 1939), including Pierre Boucher’s photomontage, show the unmistakable influence of Surrealist photomontage.[**15**] Natkin describes in detail the creation of photomontages by cut-out, by composition, by superposition (and superposition with mask), by superimpression, by combined superimpression and superposition, by repetition of a negative, by double printing and by combination, and also suggests, in a spirit belying the title of the book, that the ideal use of photomontage is dialectical and that, above all the idea behind it must be clear.



15 Pierre Boucher, *Bras sur le Guadalquivir*, 1934. Photomontage for Marcel Natkin's *Fascinating Fakes in Photography* (1939)

My practice in compiling this book has been to include works 'when the imagery is predominantly photographic, whether collaged or rephotographed, rather than according to the technique'.[11] A few examples of photograms ('rayograms', 'schadographs') are also included, because, although not strictly photomontage, having more to do with chance, they can transform relationships between familiar objects, upset the scale and suggest strange spatial effects in a way very similar to photomontage. There are, clearly, many other kinds of manipulated photograph, some of which were used in combination with photomontage. This book does not attempt to include all of them.

Many photomontages are made with photographs that have been cut out from magazines or newspapers and so already have a screen, and with further reproduction clarity may deteriorate. In other cases the original work has disappeared (photomontages were often ephemeral) or is otherwise unavailable, and it has been necessary to reproduce from books and periodicals, which may reduce the sharpness.


Legen Sie Ihr Geld in dada an!
dada
Komm
Die
anti
dada
Bewegung
dada siegt!
He, he, Sie junger Mann
Dada ist keine Kunstrichtung
Die große
Welt
dada
Tritt dada bei.
DADA
i
Sten
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16 Hannah Höch, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada though the Last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany*, 1919–20

Chapter 1

The Supremacy of the Message

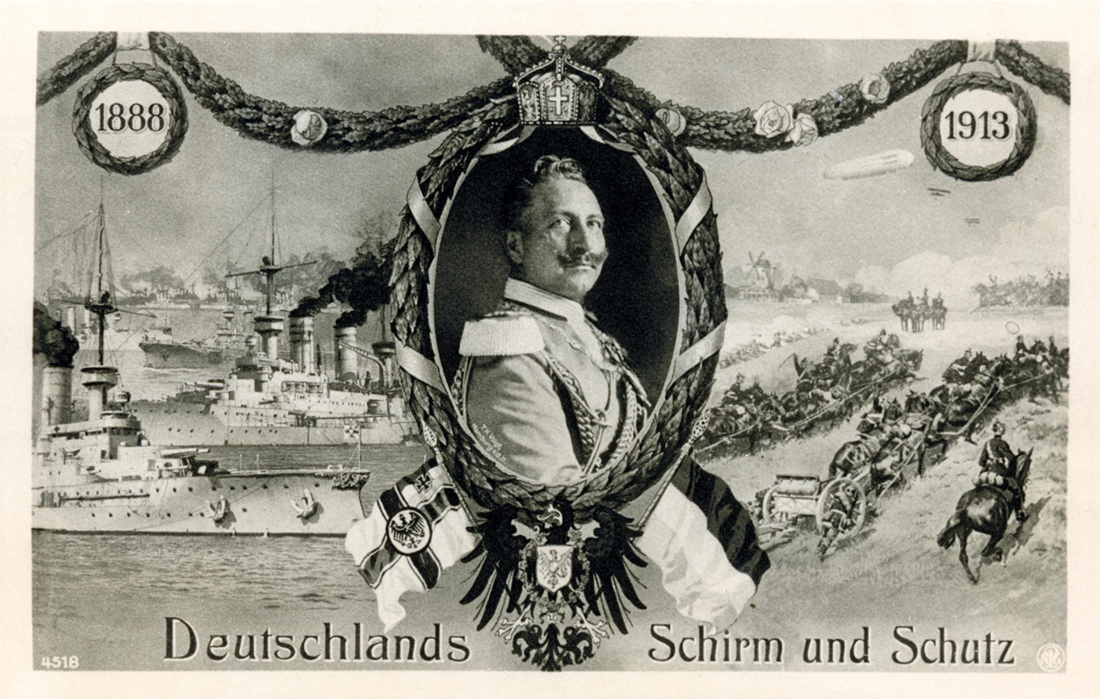
Dada in Berlin

The invention of photomontage among the Berlin Dadaists has been claimed by both Raoul Hausmann and Hannah Höch, and George Grosz and John Heartfield. George Grosz wrote to Franz Roh when the latter was about to publish *Photo-Eye* in 1929:

> *… heartfield and I had already in 1915 made interesting photopasting-montage experiments, at the time we founded the grosz and heartfield concern (südende 1915). the name "monteur" I invented for heartfield, who invariably went about in an old blue suit, and whose work in our joint affair was much like mounting.*[1]

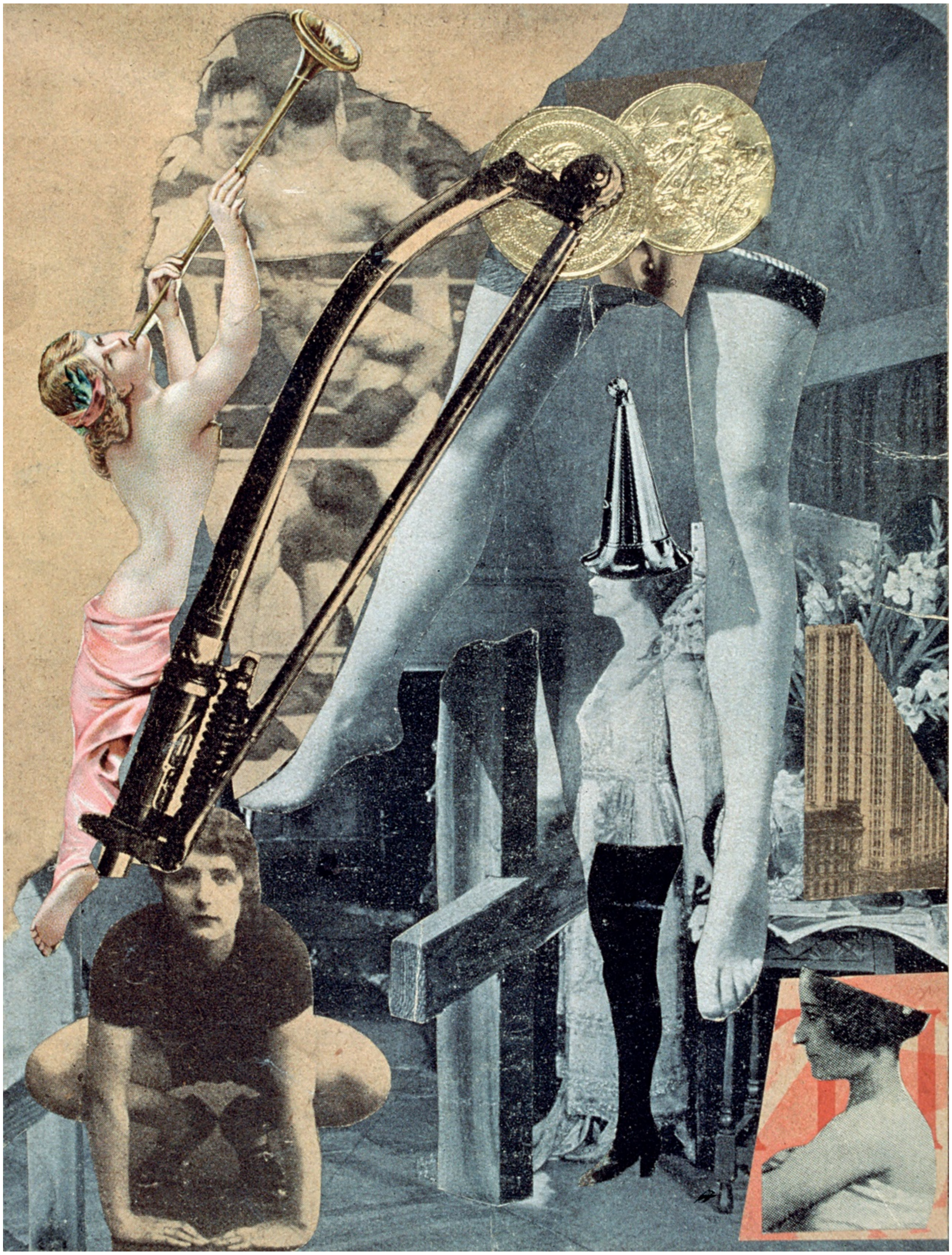
Another statement by Grosz put the date at 1916, and expanded on the circumstances of the invention:

> *In 1916, when Johnny Heartfield and I invented photomontage in my studio at the south end of the town at five o'clock one May morning, we had no idea of the immense possibilities, or of the thorny but successful career, that awaited the new invention. On a piece of cardboard we pasted a mishmash of advertisements for hernia belts, student song books and dog food, labels from schnaps and wine bottles, and photographs from picture papers, cut up at will in such a way as to say, in pictures, what would have been banned by the censors if we had said it in words. In this way we made postcards supposed to have been sent home from the Front, or from home to the Front. This led some of our friends, Tretyakov among them, to create the legend that photomontage was an invention of the 'anonymous masses'. What did happen was that Heartfield was moved to develop what started as an inflammatory political joke into a conscious artistic technique.*[2]

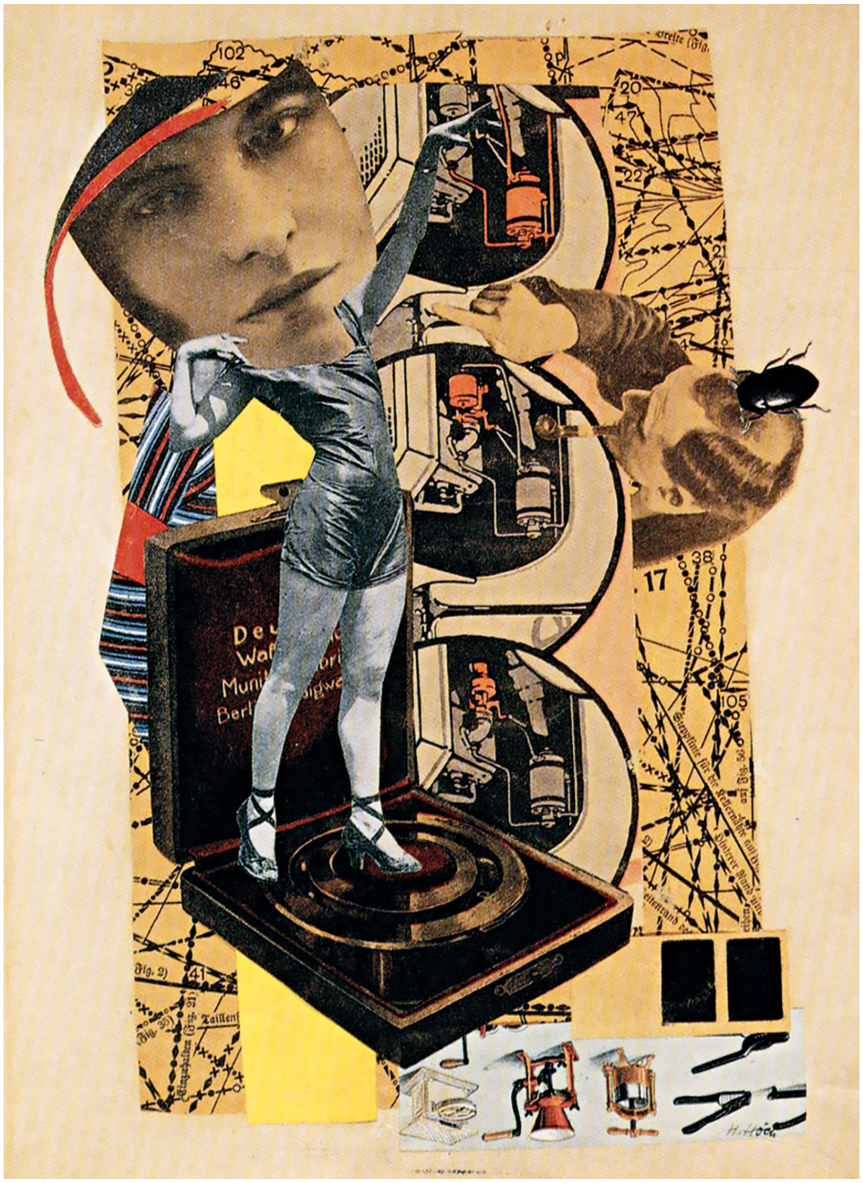


17 *Germany's Safeguard*, 1913, a postcard marking the twenty-fifth jubilee of Kaiser Wilhelm II

Hausmann, on the other hand, asserts that the germ of the idea was planted while he and Hannah Höch were on holiday in the summer of 1918 on the Baltic coast, where in almost every house they saw a framed, coloured lithograph with the image of a soldier against a background of barracks. 'To make this military memento more personal, a photographic portrait had been stuck on in place of the head.'[3] Höch has a more precise memory, recorded by Richter in *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, of an 'oleograph of Kaiser Wilhelm II surrounded by ancestors, descendants, German oaks, medals and so on. Slightly higher up, but still in the middle, stood a young grenadier under whose helmet the face of their landlord, Herr Felten, was pasted in. There in the midst of his superiors, stood the young soldier, erect and proud amid the pomp and splendour of this world. This paradoxical situation aroused Hausmann's perennial aggressive streak. . . .'[4] Hausmann realized immediately that he could make pictures composed exclusively of cut-up photographs, and his excitement must have been due to the idea not just of a new technique, but of a technique in which the image would *tell* in a new way.



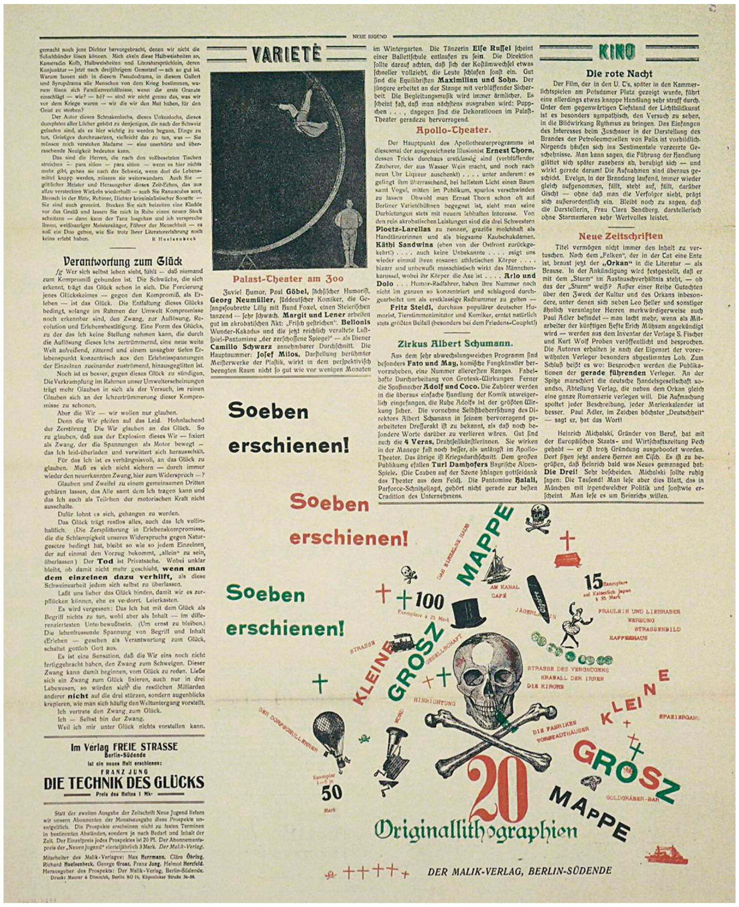
18 Hannah Höch, *Dada-Ernst*, 1920–21



19 Hannah Höch, *Collage*, 1920

But as Höch pointed out, the practice of photomontage, if not the name, had been familiar since childhood, part of the world of popular postcards; it also related, she felt, to the great development of photography itself during the First World War: aerial views, microscopy and radiography.[5]

None of the postcards Grosz describes has survived, but it is possible that the ‘typocollage’ Heartfield designed to advertise Grosz’s *Kleine Grosz Mappe* resembles them. This ‘typocollage’ was published in *Neue Jugend* in June 1917, which was later described as ‘the first Dada review’ in the catalogue of the International Dada Fair in Berlin (1920), and contained hints of the later anarchism of Dada typography and layout.[**20**] It mixes images found in printers' trays (skull and cross-bones, dancer, cigar, balloon, coffin, gramophone) among advertising slogans in a variety of typefaces. Neither this, however, nor Hausmann's collages, reproduced in *Der Dada 2* (December 1919), where they are described as 'klebebild', or paste-pictures, used photographs as such. The catalogue of the 1969 'Photomontage Exhibition' at Ingolstadt states that Grosz and Heartfield first used photos in collage in 1919, and that the cover by Heartfield of the single issue of the illustrated paper *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* (15 February 1919) was the first dated photomontage.[**21**][6] The vignette at the top left, which gives Herzfelde the body of a football, first juxtaposed two photographs to make a new whole. The rest of the page contains a brilliant parody of a photo-gallery of political leaders, the 'beauties' of the Weimar Cabinet spread out across a fan, with the caption 'Who is the Fairest?', reminiscent of satirical turn-of-the-century postcards.



NEUE JUGEND

gemacht noch jene Dichter hervorgebracht, denen wir nicht die Schuhbänder lösen können. Mich ekeln diese Halbweisheiten an, Kameradin Kolb, Halbweisheiten und Literatursprüchlein, deren Konjunktur — jetzt nach dreijährigem Gemetzel — ach so gut ist. Warum lassen sich in diesem Pseudodrama, in diesem Gallert und Syrupdrama alle Menschen von dem Krieg bestimmen, warum lösen sich Familienverhältnisse, wenn die erste Granate einschlägt — wie? — hë? — sind wir nicht genau das, was wir vor dem Kriege waren — wir die wir den Mut haben, für den Geist zu sterben?

Der Autor dieses Schnakenlochs, dieses Unkenlochs, dieses dumpfsten aller Löcher gehört zu denjenigen, die nach der Schweiz gelaufen sind, als es hier wichtig zu werden begann, Dinge zu tun, Geistiges durchzusetzen, vielleicht das zu tun, was — Sie müssen mich verstehen Madame — eine unerhörte und überraschende Neuigkeit bedeuten kann.

Das sind die Herren, die nach den vollbesetzten Tischen streichen — para siiion — para sition — wenn es hier nichts mehr gibt, gehen sie nach der Schweiz, wenn dort die Lebensmittel knapp werden, müssen sie weiterwandern. Auch Sie — göttlicher Meister und Herausgeber dieses Zeit-Echos, das aus allzu versteckten Winkeln wiederhallt — auch Sie Ranunculus acer, Mensch in der Mitte, Rubiner, Dichter kriminalistischer Sonette — Sie sind auch gemeint. Stecken Sie sich beizeiten eine Kladde vor das Gesäß und lassen Sie mich in Ruhe einen neuen Stock schnitzen — dann kann der Tanz losgehen und ich verspreche Ihnen, weißhaariger Meistersänger, Führer der Menschheit — es soll ein Duo geben, wie Sie trotz Ihrer Literaturerfahrung noch keins erlebt haben.

R. Huelsenbeck

Verantwortung zum Glück

fg Wer sich selbst leben sieht, fühlt — daß niemand zum Kompromiß gebunden ist. Die Schwäche, die sich erkennt, trägt das Glück schon in sich. Die Forcierung jenes Glückskeimes — gegen den Kompromiß, als Erleben — ist das Glück. Die Entfaltung dieses Glücks bedingt, solange im Rahmen der Umwelt Kompromisse noch erkennbar sind, den Zwang, zur Auflösung, Revolution und Erlebensbestätigung. Eine Form des Glücks, zu der das Ich keine Stellung nehmen kann, die durch die Auflösung dieses Ichs zertrümmernd, eine neue weite Welt aufreißend, zitternd und einem unsagbar tiefen Erlebenspunkt konzentrisch aus den Erlebnisspannungen der Einzelnen zueinander zuströmend, hinausgeglitten ist.

Noch ist es besser, gegen dieses Glück zu sündigen. Die Verkrampfung im Rahmen unser Umwelterscheinungen trägt mehr Glauben in sich als der Versuch, im reinen Glauben sich an der Ichzertrümmerung dieser Kompromisse zu schonen.

Aber die Wir — wir wollen nur glauben.

Denn die Wir pfeifen auf das Leid. Hohnlachend der Zerstörung. Die Wir glauben an das Glück. So zu glauben, daß aus der Explosion dieses Wir — fixiert als Zwang, der die Spannungen als Motor bewegt — das Ich leid-überladen und verwittert sich herausschält.

Für das Ich ist es verhängnisvoll, an das Glück zu glauben. Muß es sich nicht sichern — durch immer wieder den neuerkannten Zwang, hier zum Widerspruch —?

Glauben und Zweifel zu einem gemeinsamen Dritten gebären lassen, das Alle samt dem Ich tragen kann und das Ich auch als Teilchen der motorischen Kraft nicht ausschalte.

Dafür lohnt es sich, gehangen zu werden.

Das Glück trägt restlos alles, auch das Ich vollinhaltlich. (Die Zersplitterung in Erlebenskompromisse, die die Schlampigkeit unseres Widerspruchs gegen Naturgesetze bedingt hat, bleibt so wie so jedem Einzelnen, der auf einmal den Vorzug bekommt, „allein" zu sein, überlassen.) Der **Tod** ist Privatsache. Wobei unklar bleibt, ob damit nicht mehr geschieht, **wenn man dem einzelnen dazu verhilft,** als diese Schweinearbeit jedem sich selbst zu überlassen.

Laßt uns lieber das Glück binden, damit wir es zerpflücken können, ehe es verdorrt. Leierkasten.

Es wird vergessen: Das Ich hat mit dem Glück als Begriff nichts zu tun, wohl aber als Inhalt — im differenziertesten Unterbewußtsein. (Um ernst zu bleiben.) Die lebenfressende Spannung von Begriff und Inhalt (Erleben — gesehen als Verantwortung zum Glück, schaltet gottlob Gott aus.

Es ist eine Sensation, daß die Wir eins noch nicht fertiggebracht haben, den Zwang zum Schweigen. Dieser Zwang kann damit beginnen, vom Glück zu reden. Ließe sich ein Zwang zum Glück fixieren, auch nur in drei Lebewesen, so würden sich die restlichen Milliarden anderer **nicht** auf die drei stürzen, sondern augenblicks krepieren, wie man sich häufig den Weltuntergang vorstellt.

Ich vertrete den Zwang zum Glück.

Ich — Selbst bin der Zwang.

Weil ich mir unter Glück nichts vorstellen kann.

Im Verlag FREIE STRASSE
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ist ein neues Heft erschienen:
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VARIETÉ

Palast-Theater am Zoo

Zuviel Humor, Paul **Göbel**, ſächſiſcher Humoriſt, **Georg Neumüller**, ſüddeutſcher Komiker, die Geſangsſoubrette Lilly mit Hund Foxel, einen Steieriſchen tanzend — ſehr ſchwach. **Margit und Lener** arbeiten gut im akrobatiſchen Akt: „Friſch geſtrichen". **Bellonis** Wunder-Kakadus und die jetzt reichlich veraltete Luſtſpiel-Pantomime „der zerſchoſſene Spiegel" — als Diener **Camillo Schwarz** annehmbarer Durchſchnitt. Die Hauptnummer: **Joſef Milos**, Darſtellung berühmter Meiſterwerke der Plaſtik, wirkt in dem perſpektiviſch beengten Raum nicht ſo gut wie vor wenigen Monaten im Wintergarten. Die Tänzerin **Elſe Ruſſel** ſcheint einer Ballettſchule entlaufen zu ſein. Die Direktion ſollte darauf achten, daß ſich der Koſtümwechſel etwas ſchneller vollzieht, die Leute ſchlafen ſonſt ein. Gut ſind die Equilibriſten **Maximilian und Sohn.** Der jüngere arbeitet an der Stange mit verblüffender Sicherheit. Die Begleitungsmuſik wird immer ärmlicher. Es ſcheint faſt, daß man nächſtens ausgraben wird: Püppchen . . . ., dagegen ſind die Dekorationen im Palaſt-Theater geradezu hervorragend.

Apollo-Theater.

Der Hauptpunkt des Apollotheaterprogramms ist diesesmal der ausgezeichnete Illusionist **Ernest Thorn,** dessen Tricks durchaus erstklassig sind (verblüffender Zauberer, der aus Wasser Wein macht, und noch nach neun Uhr Liqueur auschenkt) . . . . unter anderem: es gelingt ihm überraschend, bei hellstem Licht einen Baum samt Vogel, mitten im Publikum, spurlos verschwinden zu lassen. Obwohl man Ernest Thorn schon oft auf Berliner Varietébühnen begegnet ist, sieht man seine Darbietungen stets mit neuem lebhaften Interesse. Von den rein akrobatischen Leistungen sind die drei Schwestern **Ploetz-Larellas** zu nennen, graziös molchhaft als Handtänzerinnen und als biegsame Kautschukdamen. **Käthi Sandwina** (eben von der Ostfront zurückgekehrt!) . . . . auch keine Unbekannte . . . . zeigt uns wieder einmal ihren rosanen athletischen Körper . . . . bizarr und unbewußt masachistisch wirkt das Männchenkarussel, wobei ihr Körper die Axe ist . . . . **Arlo und Dolo** . . . Humor-Radfahrer, haben ihre Nummer noch nicht im ganzen so konzentriert und schlagend durchgearbeitet um als erstklassige Radnummer zu gelten —

Fritz Steidl, durchaus populärer deutscher Humorist, Tierstimmenimitator und Komiker, erntet natürlich stets größten Beifall (besonders bei dem Friedens-Couplet!)

Zirkus Albert Schumann.

Aus dem ſehr abwechſlungsreichen Programm ſind beſonders **Fato und May,** komiſche Fangkünſtler hervorzuheben, eine Nummer allererſten Ranges. Fabelhafte Durcharbeitung von Grotesk-Wirkungen. Ferner die Spaßmacher **Adolf und Coco.** Die Zuhörer werden in die überaus einfache Handlung der Komik unweigerlich eingefangen, die Ruhe Adolfs iſt der größten Wirkung ſicher. Die vornehme Selbſtbeherrſchung des Direktors Albert Schumann in ſeinem hervorragend gearbeiteten Dreſſurakt iſt zu bekannt, als daß noch beſondere Worte darüber zu verlieren wären. Gut ſind auch die **4 Veras,** Drahtſeilkünſtlerinnen. Sie wirken in der Manege faſt noch beſſer, als unlängſt im Apollo-Theater. Das übrige iſt Kriegsdurchſchnitt. Dem großen Publikum gefallen **Turl Damhofers** Bayriſche Alpen-Spiele. (Die Tauben auf der Szene ſchlagen gottſeidank das Theater aus dem Feld). Die Pantomine **Halali,** Parforce-Schnitzeljagd, gehört nicht gerade zur beſten Tradition des Unternehmens.

KINO

Die rote Nacht

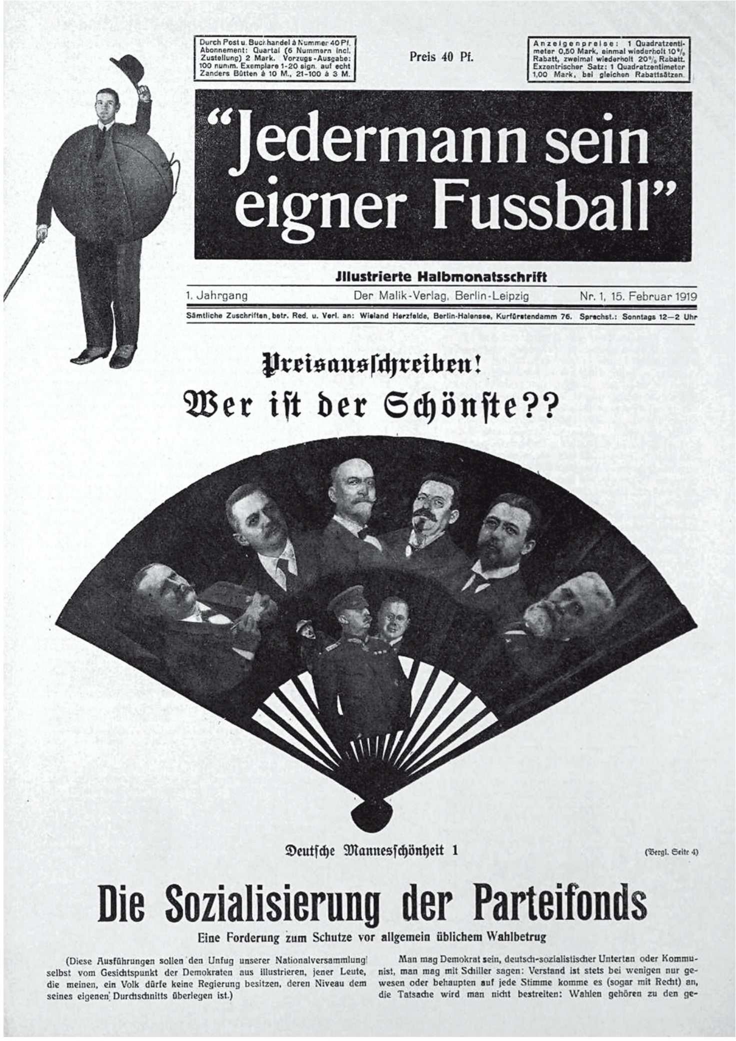
Der Film, der in den U. T's, später in den Kammerlichtspielen am Potsdamer Platz gezeigt wurde, führt eine allerdings etwas knappe Handlung sehr straff durch. Unter dem gegenwärtigen Tiefstand der Lichtbildkunst ist es besonders sympathisch, den Versuch zu sehen, in die Bildwirkung Rythmus zu bringen. Das Einfangen des Interesses beim Zuschauer in der Darstellung des Brandes der Petroleumquellen von Palis ist vorbildlich. Nirgends häufen sich ins Sentimentale verzerrte Geschehnisse. Man kann sagen, die Führung der Handlung glättet sich später zusehens ab, beruhigt sich — und wirkt gerade darum! Die Aufnahmen sind überaus geschickt. Evelyn, in der Brandung laufend, immer wieder gleich aufgenommen, fällt, steht auf, fällt, darüber Gischt — ohne daß man die Verfolger sieht, prägt sich außerordentlich ein. Bleibt noch zu sagen, daß die Darstellerin, Frau Clara Sandberg, darstellerisch ohne Starmanieren sehr Wertvolles leistet.

Neue Zeitschriften

Titel vermögen nicht immer den Inhalt zu vertuschen. Nach dem „Falken", der in der Tat eine Ente ist, braust jetzt der **„Orkan"** in die Literatur — als Brause. In der Ankündigung wird festgestellt, daß er mit dem „Sturm" im Austauschverhältnis steht, — ob das der „Sturm" weiß? Außer einer Reihe Gutachten über den Zweck der Kultur und des Orkans inbesondere, unter denen sich neben Leo Heller und sonstiger ähnlich veranlagter Herren merkwürdigerweise auch Paul Adler befindet — man lacht mehr, wenn als Mitarbeiter der künftigen Hefte Erich Mühsam angekündigt wird — werden aus dem Inventar der Verlage S. Fischer und Kurt Wolf Proben veröffentlicht und besprochen. Die Autoren erhalten je nach der Eigenart der vorerwähnten Verleger besonders abgestimmtes Lob. Zum Schluß heißt es wo: Besprochen werden die Publikationen der **gerade führenden** Verleger. An der Spitze marschiert die deutsche Handelsgesellschaft soundso, Abteilung Verlag, die neben dem Orkan gleich eine ganze Romanserie verlegen will. Die Aufmachung spottet jeder Beschreibung, jeder Marienkalender ist besser. Paul Adler, im Zeichen höchster „Deutschheit" — sagt er, hat das Wort!

Heinrich Michalski, Gründer von Beruf, hat mit der Europäiſchen Staats- und Wirtſchaftszeitung Pech gehabt — er iſt trotz Gründung ausgebootet worden. Dort ſitzen jetzt andere Herren am Tiſch. Es iſt zu begrüßen, daß Heinrich bald was Neues gemanaged hat: **Die Drei!** Sehr beſcheiden. Michalski ſollte ruhig ſagen: Die Tauſend! Man leſe aber dies Blatt, das in München mit irgendwelcher Politik und ſonſtwie erſcheint. Man leſe es um Heinrichs willen.

20 ‘Typocollage’ by John Heartfield to advertise George Grosz’s lithograph portfolio, *Kleine Grosz Mappe*, from *Neue Jugend* (June 1917). It was in *Neue Jugend* that Heartfield began to form a new style of montage out of experiments with collage and typography. *Neue Jugend*, on which Franz Jung and Grosz also collaborated, was published by Wieland Herzfelde’s Malik-Verlag, founded in 1917, which moved from Berlin to Prague in 1933.



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“Jedermann sein eigner Fussball”

Jllustrierte Halbmonatsschrift

1. Jahrgang — Der Malik-Verlag, Berlin-Leipzig — Nr. 1, 15. Februar 1919

Sämtliche Zuschriften, betr. Red. u. Verl. an: Wieland Herzfelde, Berlin-Halensee, Kurfürstendamm 76. Sprechst.: Sonntags 12—2 Uhr

Preisausſchreiben!

Wer iſt der Schönſte??

Deutſche Mannesſchönheit 1 (Vergl. Seite 4)

Die Sozialisierung der Parteifonds

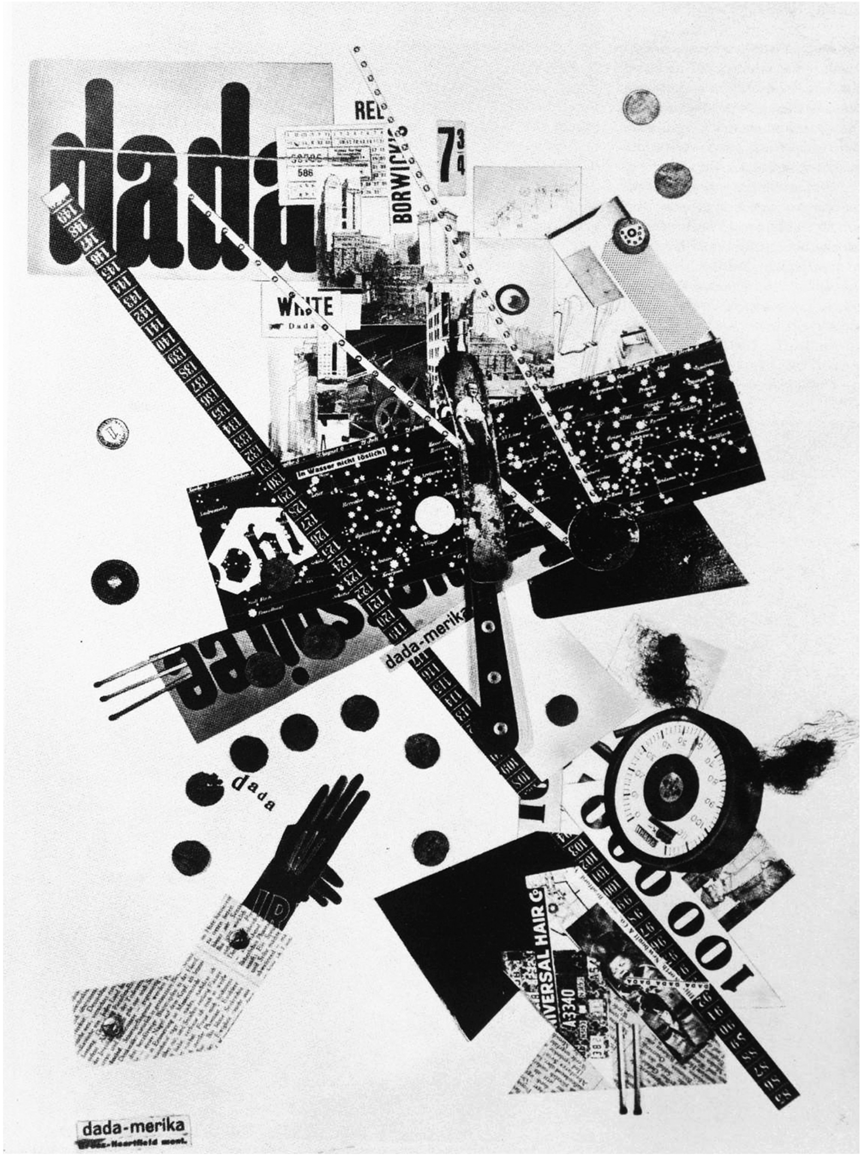
Eine Forderung zum Schutze vor allgemein üblichem Wahlbetrug

(Diese Ausführungen sollen den Unfug unserer Nationalversammlung selbst vom Gesichtspunkt der Demokraten aus illustrieren, jener Leute, die meinen, ein Volk dürfe keine Regierung besitzen, deren Niveau dem seines eigenen Durchschnitts überlegen ist.)

Man mag Demokrat sein, deutsch-sozialistischer Untertan oder Kommunist, man mag mit Schiller sagen: Verstand ist stets bei wenigen nur gewesen oder behaupten auf jede Stimme komme es (sogar mit Recht) an, die Tatsache wird man nicht bestreiten: Wahlen gehören zu den ge-

21 Malik-Verlag published radical literature and politics, Dada works and satirical newspapers like *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* (*Everyman his own football*, no. 1, 15 February 1919), for which Heartfield designed this cover.

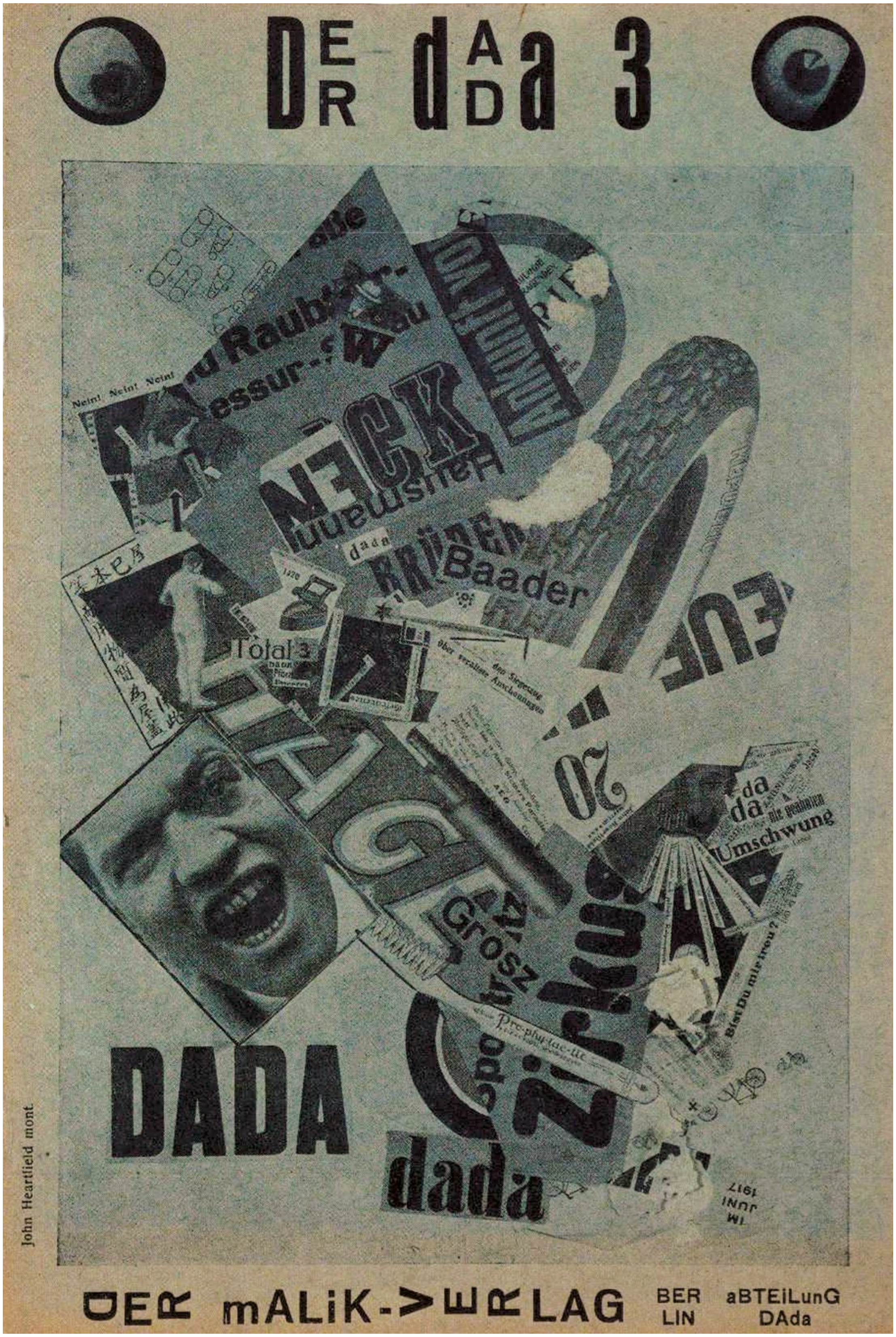
The practice of photomontage has precedence over the name. The term had its origin in the adoption of the term *montiert* or *montieren* by Grosz and Heartfield, abbreviated to ‘mont.’, which they stamped with their names on their works in place of a signature. *Dada-merika*, dated on the reverse 14 September 1919, and signed by Grosz alone, is stamped on the front ‘grosz-heartfield mont’.[7][22]


dada
REL
BORWICK'S
7¾
WHITE
oh!
dada-merika
dada
1000000
UNIVERSAL HAIR
dada-merika
Grosz-Heartfield mont.

22 George Grosz and John Heartfield, *Dada-merika*, 1919

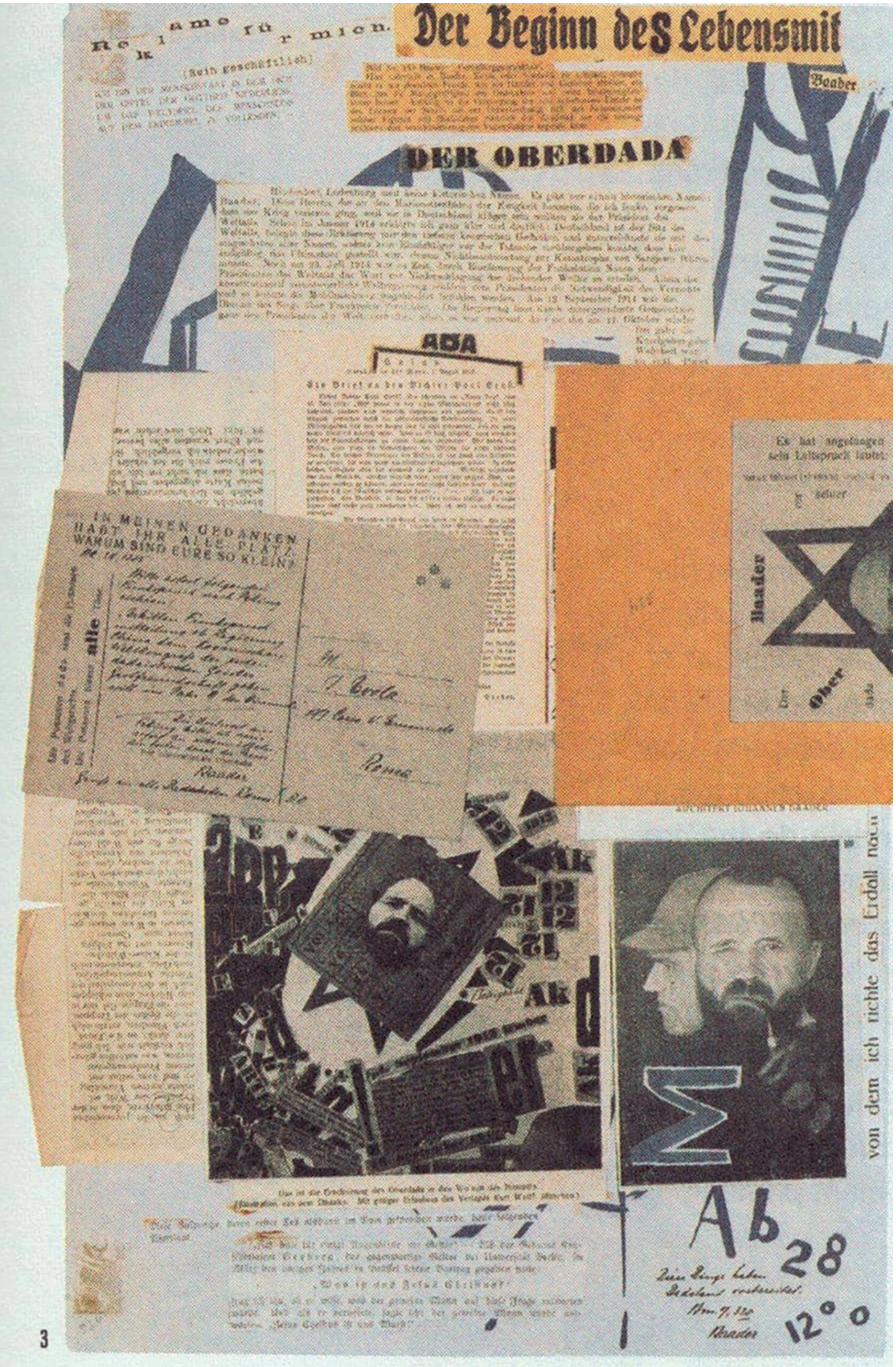
Der Dada 3 (April 1920) has a montage cover by Heartfield – ‘Monteur Dada’ – while Hausmann is the ‘Dadasoph’, Grosz ‘Marshall’ and Herzfelde ‘Progress-Dada’.[8] [23] But the term still appears far from fixed, and there remained considerable variety in the way collages and montages were described. Grosz’s montage-watercolour *Daum Marries*…, also reproduced in *Der Dada 3*, had the description ‘(Meta-Mech. constr. nach Prof. R. Hausmann)’, which might translate as ‘Meta-mechanical construction after Prof. Hausmann’ – an ironic comment, perhaps, on the rivalry between them. The term ‘photomontage’ does not appear to have been in common use by the time of the International Dada Fair of May

1920. It was not used, for example, to describe Heartfield’s *Leiben und Treiben in Universal-City, 12 hr. 5 mittags* (*Life and Activity in Universal City at 12.05 midday*), which was also used for the cover and has subsequently acquired the title ‘Dada-photomontage’.[9][**32**] Portraits of Hausmann, Heartfield and Grosz by Heartfield were labelled ‘dadaphotos’ in the catalogue. In *Mecano* (*Red*), 1922, the late Neo-Dada review edited by the De Stijl artist Theo van Doesburg under his Dada pseudonym I. K. Bonset, an Ernst collage-engraving is described as ‘photo-mechanical composition’, and the same issue has Hausmann’s *Tatlin at Home* without a descriptive label. A photomontage by Hausmann in *Mecano* (*Blue*) is labelled ‘Construction’.[**29**]


DER DADA 3
Nein! Nein! Nein!
Baader
Total 3
dada
Umschwung
Grosz
Zirkus
DADA
dada
IM JUNI 1917
John Heartfield mont.
DER MALIK-VERLAG
BERLIN
aBTEiLunG DAda

23 John Heartfield, cover for *Der Dada 3*, April 1920

The way in which photographs were utilized in these montages or ‘constructions’ ran to no simple formula either; a more collage-like appearance continued side by side with the exclusive use of photographs. The second issue of *Der Dada* (December 1919) reproduced Hausmann’s collage *Gurk*, constructed from newspaper cuttings and sliced-up woodcuts, a collage by Baader with a photograph of himself breaking through, and a fully-blown photomontage, a joint portrait of Baader and Hausmann, with Baader’s pipe ‘smoking’ a rose.[**24**]


Reklame für mich.
(Reih geschäftlich)
Der Beginn des Lebensmit
Baader
DER OBERDADA
ADA
IN MEINEN GEDANKEN HABT IHR ALLE PLATZ WARUM SIND EURE SO KLEIN?
alle
Es hat angefangen
sein Leitspruch lautet:
Baader
Ober
von dem ich richte das Erdall nach
Ab 28
12°0
Diese Dinge haben Dadaland erobert.
Baader

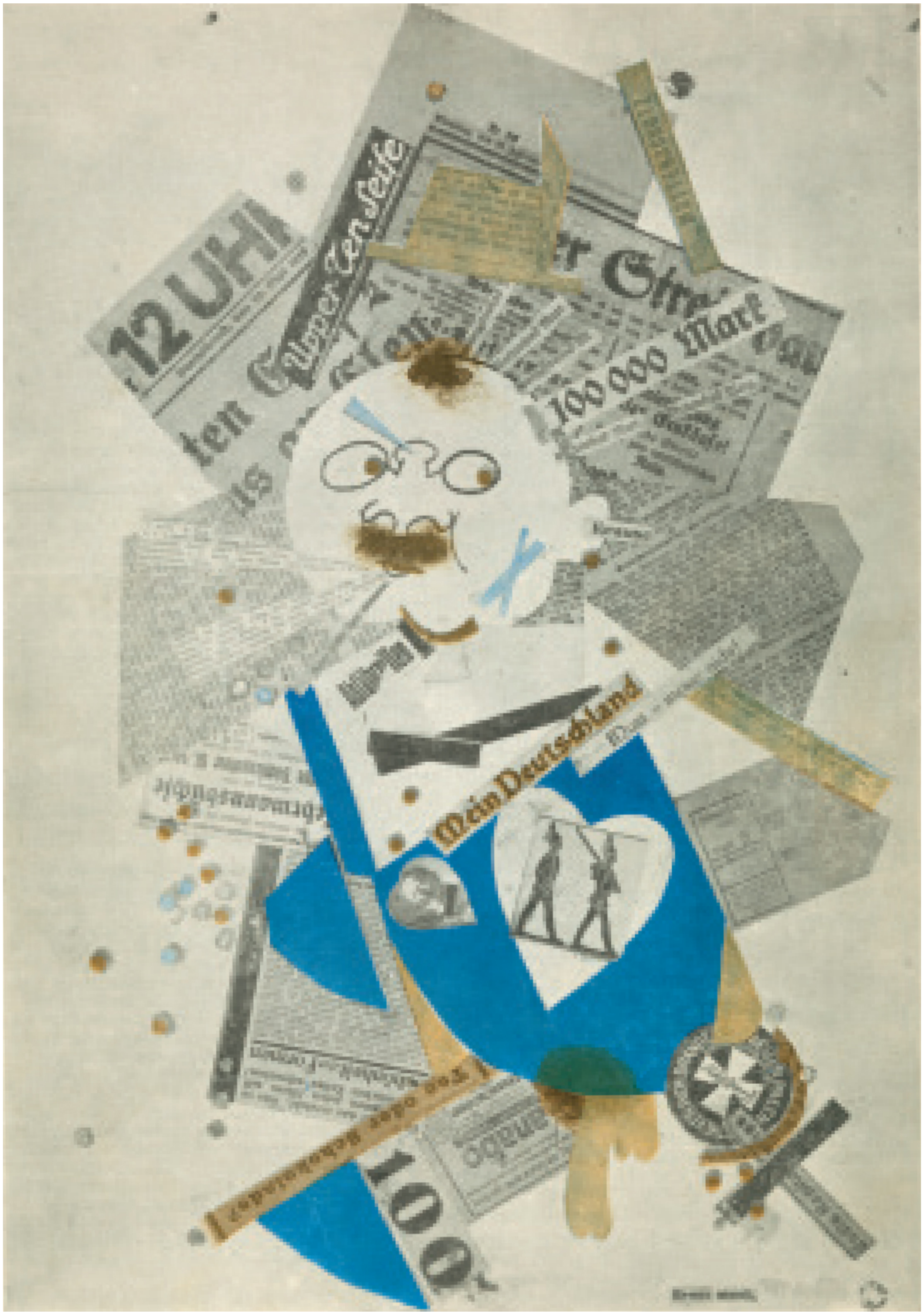
24 Johannes Baader, *Dada Milchstrasse*, 1918–20

Grosz’s and Hausmann’s different accounts of the ‘discovery’ of photomontage both stress sources in the popular and comic arrangement of photographs, and both seized on the possibilities of signification and on the subversive potential of the medium. This is how Hausmann was to describe it much later, in his lecture at the time of the first major exhibition of photomontage in Berlin in 1931:

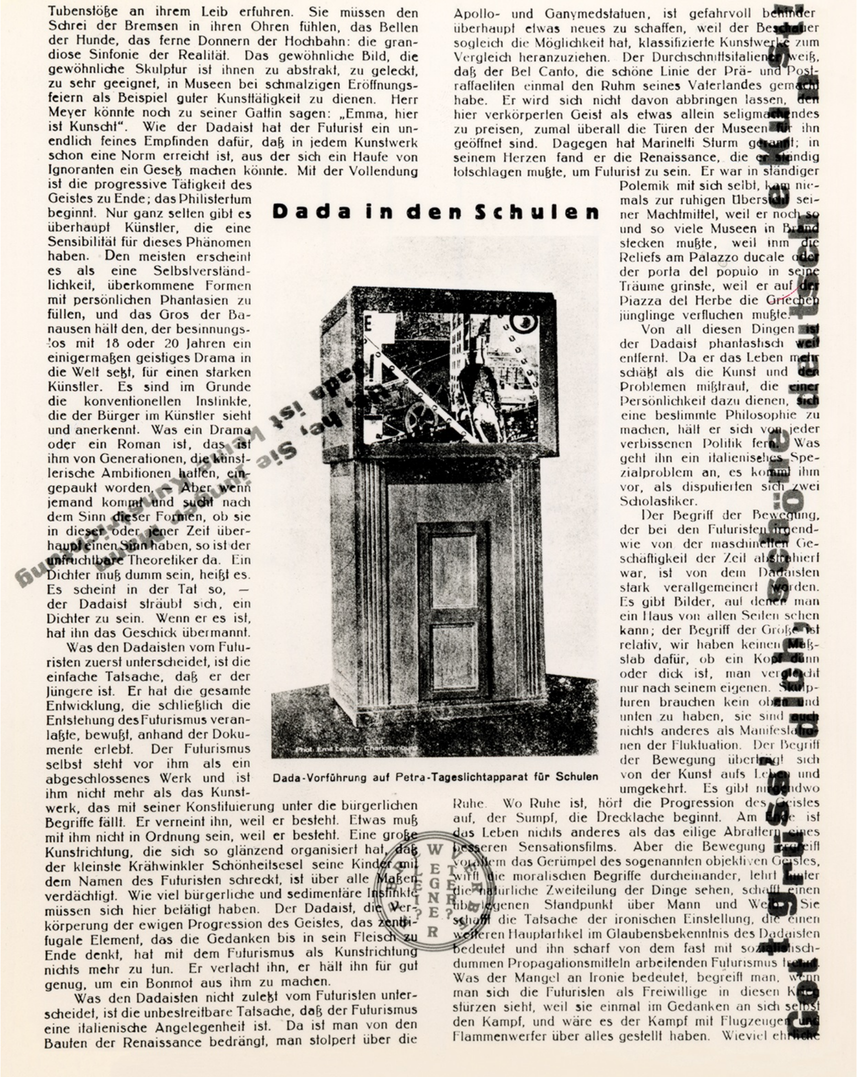
> *People often assume that photomontage is only practicable in two forms: political propaganda and commercial publicity. The first photomonteurs, the Dadaists, started from the point of view, to them incontestable, that war-time painting, post-futurist expressionism, had failed because of its non-objectivity and its absence of convictions, and that not only painting, but all the arts and their techniques needed a fundamental and revolutionary change, in order to remain in touch with the life of their epoch. The members of the Club Dada were naturally not interested in elaborating new aesthetic rules…. But the idea of photomontage was as revolutionary as its content, its form as subversive as the application of the photograph and printed texts which, together, are transformed into a static film. Having invented the static, simultaneous and purely phonetic poem, the Dadaists applied the same principles to pictorial representation. They were the first to use photography as material to create, with the aid of structures that were very different, often anomalous and with antagonistic significance, a new entity which tore from the chaos of war and revolution an entirely new image; and they were aware that their method possessed a propaganda power which their contemporaries had not the courage to exploit….*[10]

Towards the end of the war, Berlin was a half-starved nightmare city, and there was increasing social and political chaos; in 1918, Soviet Republics were briefly set up in several major German cities, including Berlin. Of the Berlin Dada Club, which included Huelsenbeck, Hausmann, Grosz, Wieland Herzfelde and his brother John Heartfield, Hannah Höch, Johannes Baader and, briefly, Franz Jung, only Herzfelde, Heartfield and Grosz joined the German Communist Party (KPD) in December 1918. But the group as a whole sided with the radical left wing against the middle-class republic of Ebert and Schiedemann, and, after the defeat of the November Revolution, were vociferous in their opposition. They produced many periodicals, news-sheets and pamphlets, not all of which were Dadaist, for which conventional layout seemed inappropriate, and typographical anarchy began.

In artistic terms, Dada's constant chosen enemy was Expressionism, and in singling out its inwardness and Utopianism, and the emptiness of its rhetoric, Huelsenbeck, in the first Dada Manifesto of the Berlin group in 1918, called instead for an art 'which in its conscious content presents the thousandfold problems of the day, the art which has been visibly shattered by the explosions of last week, which is forever trying to collect its limbs after yesterday's crash. The best and most extraordinary artists will be those who every hour snatch the tatters of their bodies out of the frenzied cataract of life, who, with bleeding hands and hearts, hold fast to the intelligence of their time.'[11] Photomontage perhaps comes closest to fulfilling Huelsenbeck's ideal. The visibly shattered surface of *Dada-merika*, or Heartfield's *Universal City*, is a truer image of a violent and chaotic society than, for example, *The Funeral of the Anarchist Galli*, a painting by the Futurist Carrà. And in using the very stuff of today's and yesterday's news, Dada was beginning to subvert the voice of society itself.[**25**] Grosz's montage *My Germany*, for the unpublished anthology *Dadaco*, has some of the power of Heartfield's later work: Prussian soldiers are enthroned in the heart of a fat capitalist whose bland bald head sprouts snippets of the financial news. This is one of the first montages to show the inglorious association of money and war, later to be a constant theme in Heartfield's work.


12UH
100 000 Mark
Mein Deutschland
100

25 George Grosz, *My Germany*, 1919, from *Dadaco*



Tubenstöße an ihrem Leib erfuhren. Sie müssen den Schrei der Bremsen in ihren Ohren fühlen, das Bellen der Hunde, das ferne Donnern der Hochbahn: die grandiose Sinfonie der Realität. Das gewöhnliche Bild, die gewöhnliche Skulptur ist ihnen zu abstrakt, zu geleckt, zu sehr geeignet, in Museen bei schmalzigen Eröffnungsfeiern als Beispiel guter Kunsttätigkeit zu dienen. Herr Meyer könnte noch zu seiner Gattin sagen: „Emma, hier ist Kunscht". Wie der Dadaist hat der Futurist ein unendlich feines Empfinden dafür, daß in jedem Kunstwerk schon eine Norm erreicht ist, aus der sich ein Haufe von Ignoranten ein Geseß machen könnte. Mit der Vollendung ist die progressive Tätigkeit des Geistes zu Ende; das Philistertum beginnt. Nur ganz selten gibt es überhaupt Künstler, die eine Sensibilität für dieses Phänomen haben. Den meisten erscheint es als eine Selbstverständlichkeit, überkommene Formen mit persönlichen Phantasien zu füllen, und das Gros der Banausen hält den, der besinnungslos mit 18 oder 20 Jahren ein einigermaßen geistiges Drama in die Welt seßt, für einen starken Künstler. Es sind im Grunde die konventionellen Instinkte, die der Bürger im Künstler sieht und anerkennt. Was ein Drama oder ein Roman ist, das ist ihm von Generationen, die künstlerische Ambitionen hatten, eingepaukt worden. – Aber wenn jemand kommt und sucht nach dem Sinn dieser Formen, ob sie in dieser oder jener Zeit überhaupt einen Sinn haben, so ist der unfruchtbare Theoretiker da. Ein Dichter muß dumm sein, heißt es. Es scheint in der Tat so, – der Dadaist sträubt sich, ein Dichter zu sein. Wenn er es ist, hat ihn das Geschick übermannt.

Was den Dadaisten vom Futuristen zuerst unterscheidet, ist die einfache Tatsache, daß er der Jüngere ist. Er hat die gesamte Entwicklung, die schließlich die Entstehung des Futurismus veranlaßte, bewußt, anhand der Dokumente erlebt. Der Futurismus selbst steht vor ihm als ein abgeschlossenes Werk und ist ihm nicht mehr als das Kunstwerk, das mit seiner Konstituierung unter die bürgerlichen Begriffe fällt. Er verneint ihn, weil er besteht. Etwas muß mit ihm nicht in Ordnung sein, weil er besteht. Eine große Kunstrichtung, die sich so glänzend organisiert hat, daß der kleinste Krähwinkler Schönheitsesel seine Kinder mit dem Namen des Futuristen schreckt, ist über alle Maßen verdächtigt. Wie viel bürgerliche und sedimentäre Instinkte müssen sich hier betätigt haben. Der Dadaist, die Verkörperung der ewigen Progression des Geistes, das zentrifugale Element, das die Gedanken bis in sein Fleisch zu Ende denkt, hat mit dem Futurismus als Kunstrichtung nichts mehr zu tun. Er verlacht ihn, er hält ihn für gut genug, um ein Bonmot aus ihm zu machen.

Was den Dadaisten nicht zuleßt vom Futuristen unterscheidet, ist die unbestreitbare Tatsache, daß der Futurismus eine italienische Angelegenheit ist. Da ist man von den Bauten der Renaissance bedrängt, man stolpert über die Apollo- und Ganymedstatuen, ist gefahrvoll behindert überhaupt etwas neues zu schaffen, weil der Beschauer sogleich die Möglichkeit hat, klassifizierte Kunstwerke zum Vergleich heranzuziehen. Der Durchschnittsitaliener weiß, daß der Bel Canto, die schöne Linie der Prä- und Postraffaeliten einmal den Ruhm seines Vaterlandes gemacht habe. Er wird sich nicht davon abbringen lassen, den hier verkörperten Geist als etwas allein seligmachendes zu preisen, zumal überall die Türen der Museen für ihn geöffnet sind. Dagegen hat Marinetti Sturm gerannt; in seinem Herzen fand er die Renaissance, die er ständig totschlagen mußte, um Futurist zu sein. Er war in ständiger Polemik mit sich selbt, kam niemals zur ruhigen Übersicht seiner Machtmittel, weil er noch so und so viele Museen in Brand stecken mußte, weil ihm die Reliefs am Palazzo ducale oder der porta del populo in seine Träume grinste, weil er auf der Piazza del Herbe die Griechenjünglinge verfluchen mußte.

Von all diesen Dingen ist der Dadaist phantastisch weit entfernt. Da er das Leben mehr schäßt als die Kunst und den Problemen mißtraut, die einer Persönlichkeit dazu dienen, sich eine bestimmte Philosophie zu machen, hält er sich von jeder verbissenen Politik fern. Was geht ihn ein italienisehes Spezialproblem an, es kommt ihm vor, als disputierten sich zwei Scholastiker.

Der Begriff der Bewegung, der bei den Futuristen irgendwie von der maschinellen Geschäftigkeit der Zeit abstrahiert war, ist von dem Dadaisten stark verallgemeinert worden. Es gibt Bilder, auf denen man ein Haus von allen Seiten sehen kann; der Begriff der Größe ist relativ, wir haben keinen Maßstab dafür, ob ein Kopf dünn oder dick ist, man vergleicht nur nach seinem eigenen. Skulpturen brauchen kein oben und unten zu haben, sie sind auch nichts anderes als Manifestationen der Fluktuation. Der Begriff der Bewegung überträgt sich von der Kunst aufs Leben und umgekehrt. Es gibt nirgendwo Ruhe. Wo Ruhe ist, hört die Progression des Geistes auf, der Sumpf, die Drecklache beginnt. Am Ende ist das Leben nichts anderes als das eilige Abrattern eines besseren Sensationsfilms. Aber die Bewegung ergreift vorallem das Gerümpel des sogenannten objektiven Geistes, wirft die moralischen Begriffe durcheinander, lehrt hinter die natürliche Zweiteilung der Dinge sehen, schafft einen überlegenen Standpunkt über Mann und Weib. Sie schafft die Tatsache der ironischen Einstellung, die einen weiteren Hauptartikel im Glaubensbekenntnis des Dadaisten bedeutet und ihn scharf von dem fast mit sozialistisch-dummen Propagationsmitteln arbeitenden Futurismus trennt. Was der Mangel an Ironie bedeutet, begreift man, wenn man sich die Futuristen als Freiwillige in diesen Krieg stürzen sieht, weil sie einmal im Gedanken an sich selbst den Kampf, und wäre es der Kampf mit Flugzeugen und Flammenwerfer über alles gestellt haben. Wieviel ehrliche

Dada in den Schulen

Phot. Emil Leitner, Charlottenburg

Dada-Vorführung auf Petra-Tageslichtapparat für Schulen

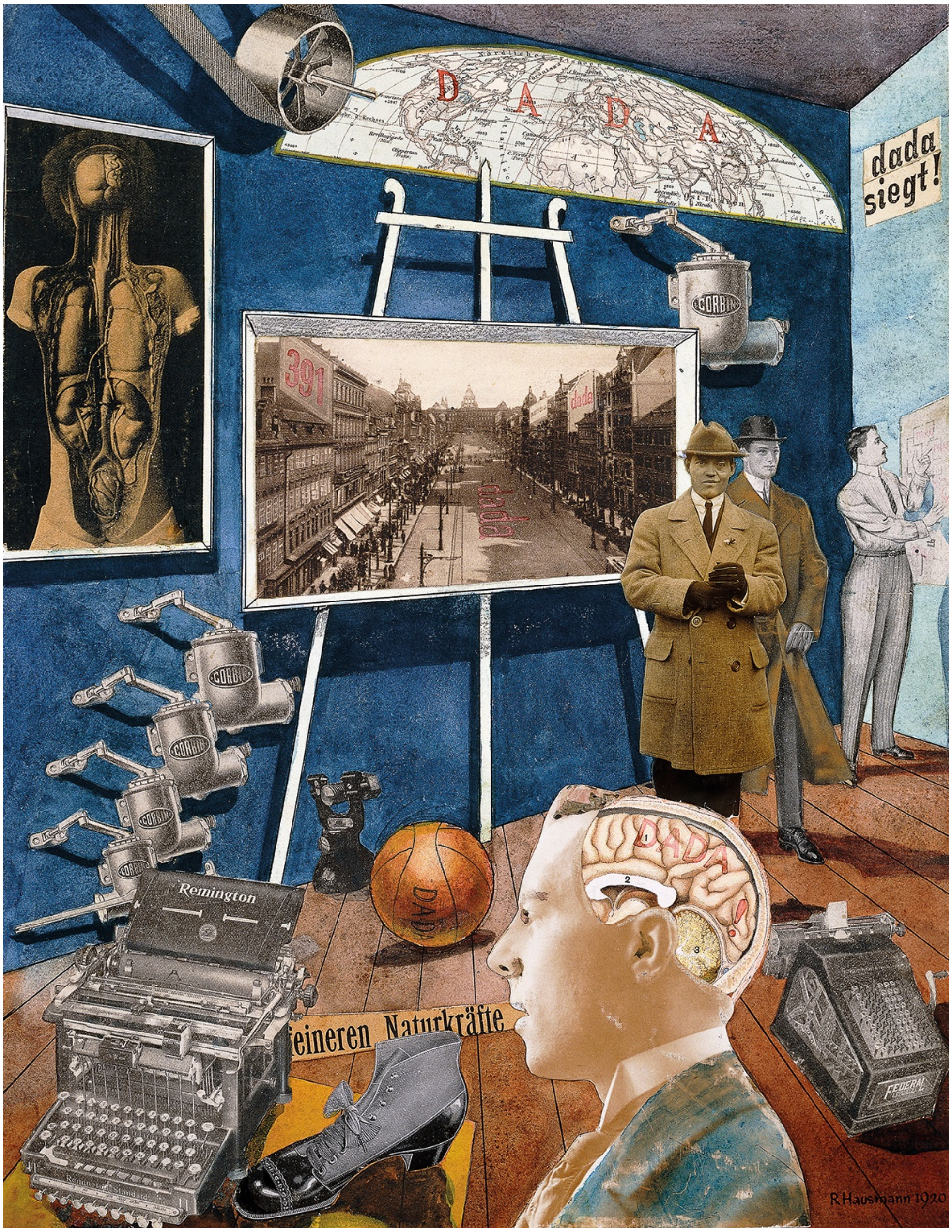
26 Page from trial proofs of the unpublished anthology *Dadaco*, 1920

The connection between militarism and capitalism, persistent basis for Grosz's attack on the Weimar Republic, was explored by him in a number of lithographs and drawings. In *The communists are dying and the foreign exchange rate goes up* from *Gott mit uns*, a collection of lithographs of 1920, the caption reveals the direct relationship between the two apparently disparate scenes; this was a principle of construction that Heartfield was sometimes to use in his later photomontages.

The first International Dada Fair, held in Berlin in 1920, included works by Arp, Picabia and Ernst as well as by the Berlin group. The highlight of the Fair, which led to prosecution for defaming the *Reichswehr* (German Army), was the *Prussian Archangel* – John Heartfield and Neue

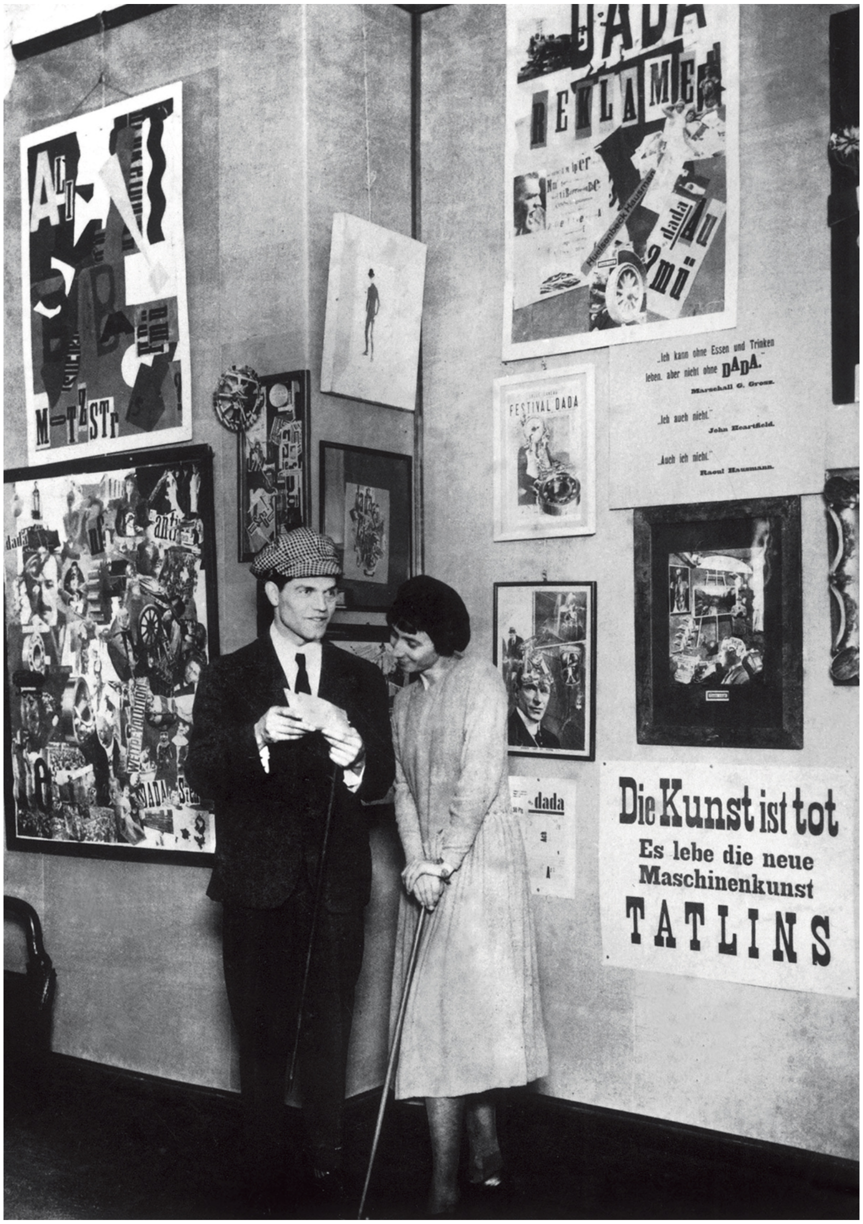
Sachlichkeit artist Rudolf Schlichter’s stuffed dummy, dressed in a German officer’s uniform and with the head of a pig.[12]

The stated theme of the exhibition was ‘Art is dead! Long live the machine art of Tatlin!’. The recurrent motif in the photomontages exhibited by Hausmann and Hannah Höch is the machine, yet their attitude to the machine is far from unambiguous. Beside *Dada Conquers*, which proclaimed the world victory of Dada, hung *Tatlin at Home*, demonstrating, apparently, the admiration and sympathy of the Berlin Dadaists for the new Production Art in Russia.[**27**, **29**] However, Hausmann stated in 1967 that this was an accidental, haphazard accumulation of images rather than a planned affirmation of ‘machine art’ – of whose manifestations in Russia they had only the haziest idea. Leafing through an American review, Hausmann had come across a photograph of a man which, for no particular reason, ‘automatically’ reminded him of Tatlin. He was, however, more ‘interested in showing the image of a man who only had machines in his head’. From this point, images were added to balance and expand this first idea: the dummy with soft, organic insides, the man turning out empty pockets (‘Tatlin can’t have been rich’), the boat’s stern with screw-propeller adding the final touch. As in *Dada Conquers*, the background is painted – a steeply receding, platform-like floor that, with its other details and a certain oneiric quality, is reminiscent of the paintings of De Chirico.

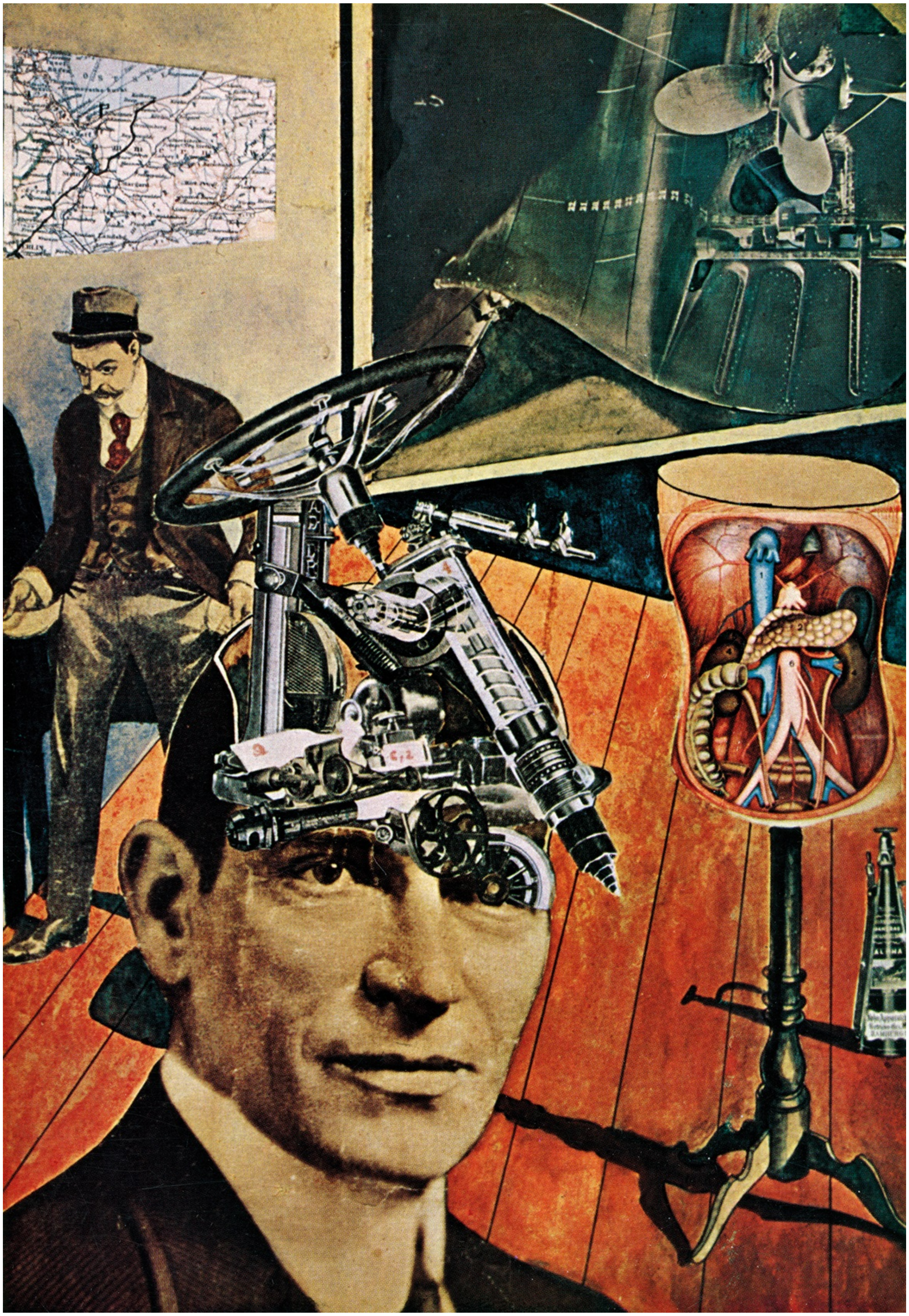

D A D A
dada siegt!
391
dada
dada
CORBIN
Remington
DADA
DADA
einerem Naturkräfte
FEDERAL
R Hausmann 1920

27 Raoul Hausmann, *Dada Conquers*, 1920

The photograph of Raoul Hausmann and Hannah Höch at the Dada Fair shows them standing in front of their photomontages, including Höch's large *Cut with the Kitchen Knife* (*c*. 1919) and Hausmann's *Festival Dada* (1920), in which a pressure gauge is mounted in place of a head.[28, 16] There are, clearly, parallels between photomontages and the constructed objects including ready-made materials that became a prominent feature of Dada, and also heralded the Surrealist object. At the Berlin Dada Fair, besides *Prussian Archangel*, there was a dressmaker's dummy with an electric light bulb for a head and a rusty knife-and-fork and military decoration attached, and Johannes Baader's monumental newsstand assemblage *The Great Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama*, a mass of posters, magazines, newspapers and found objects. Such objects recall Huelsenbeck's comments on Zürich Dada collages (the 'new medium', as he called it), which he criticized for not taking the medium to its logical conclusion by using 'real' things like a post office form.[13] Huelsenbeck was still thinking here in terms of the flat surface of the collage, but the step to the three-dimensional was inevitable, and had precedents both in Picasso's Cubist constructions and relief-assemblages and in Duchamp's readymades. The New York issues of Picabia's *391* (1917) had contained photographs of plain, mass-produced objects labelled suggestively, like the electric light bulb titled 'Américaine' ('American Girl'). Objects like the 'adorned' dummy, Baader's assemblage or Hausmann's mechanical head *Spirit of Our Time* could be said to bear a similar relationship to the photomontages of Höch, Grosz or Hausmann as earlier Dada works, like Janco's *Construction 3* (1917), with its abstract exploration of the properties of wire, do to abstract Dada collages.

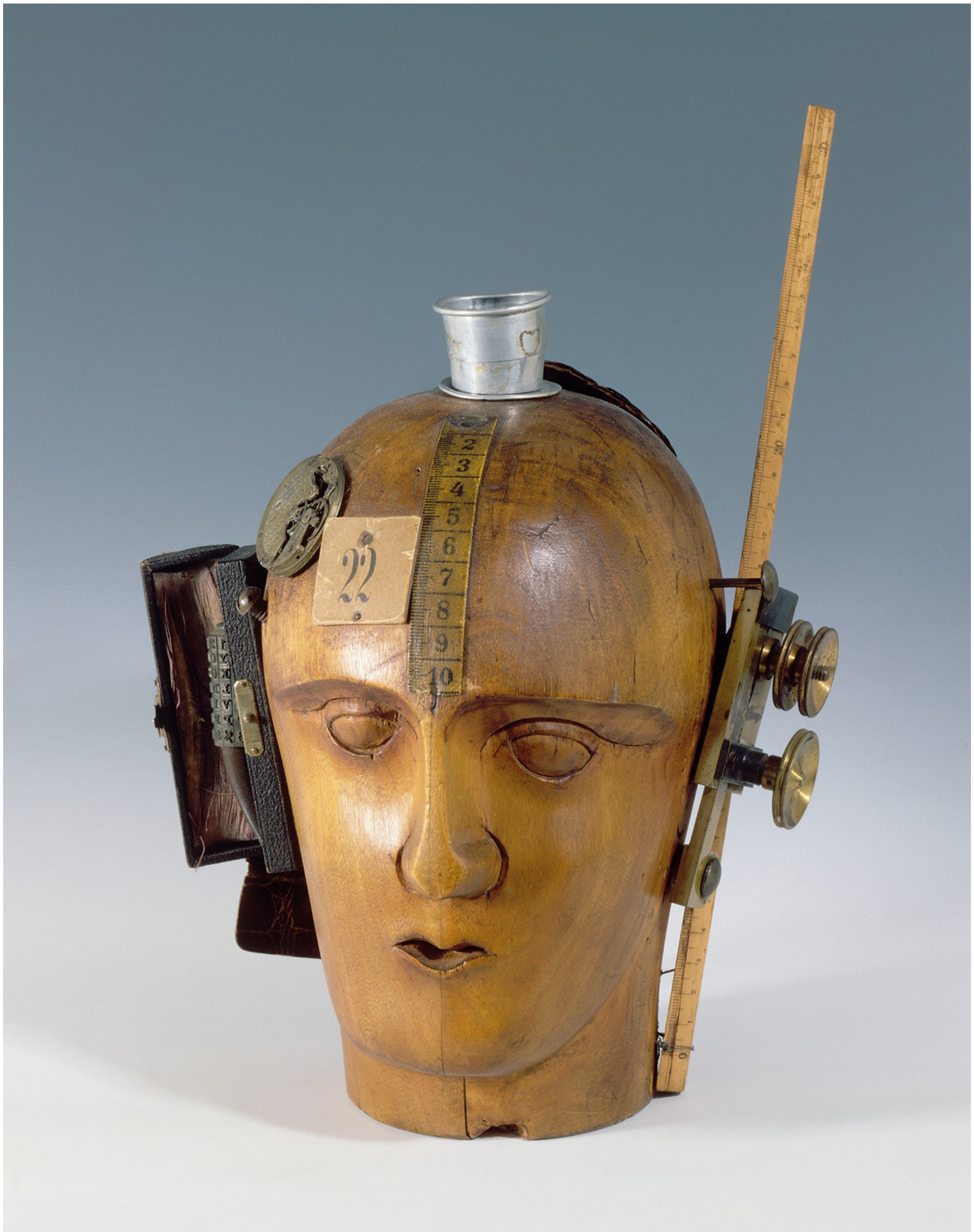

DADA
REKLAME
FESTIVAL DADA
„Ich kann ohne Essen und Trinken leben, aber nicht ohne DADA."
Marschall G. Grosz.
„Ich auch nicht."
John Heartfield.
„Auch ich nicht."
Raoul Hausmann.
dada
Die Kunst ist tot
Es lebe die neue
Maschinenkunst
TATLINS

28 Raoul Hausmann and Hannah Höch at the International Dada Fair, Berlin, 1920

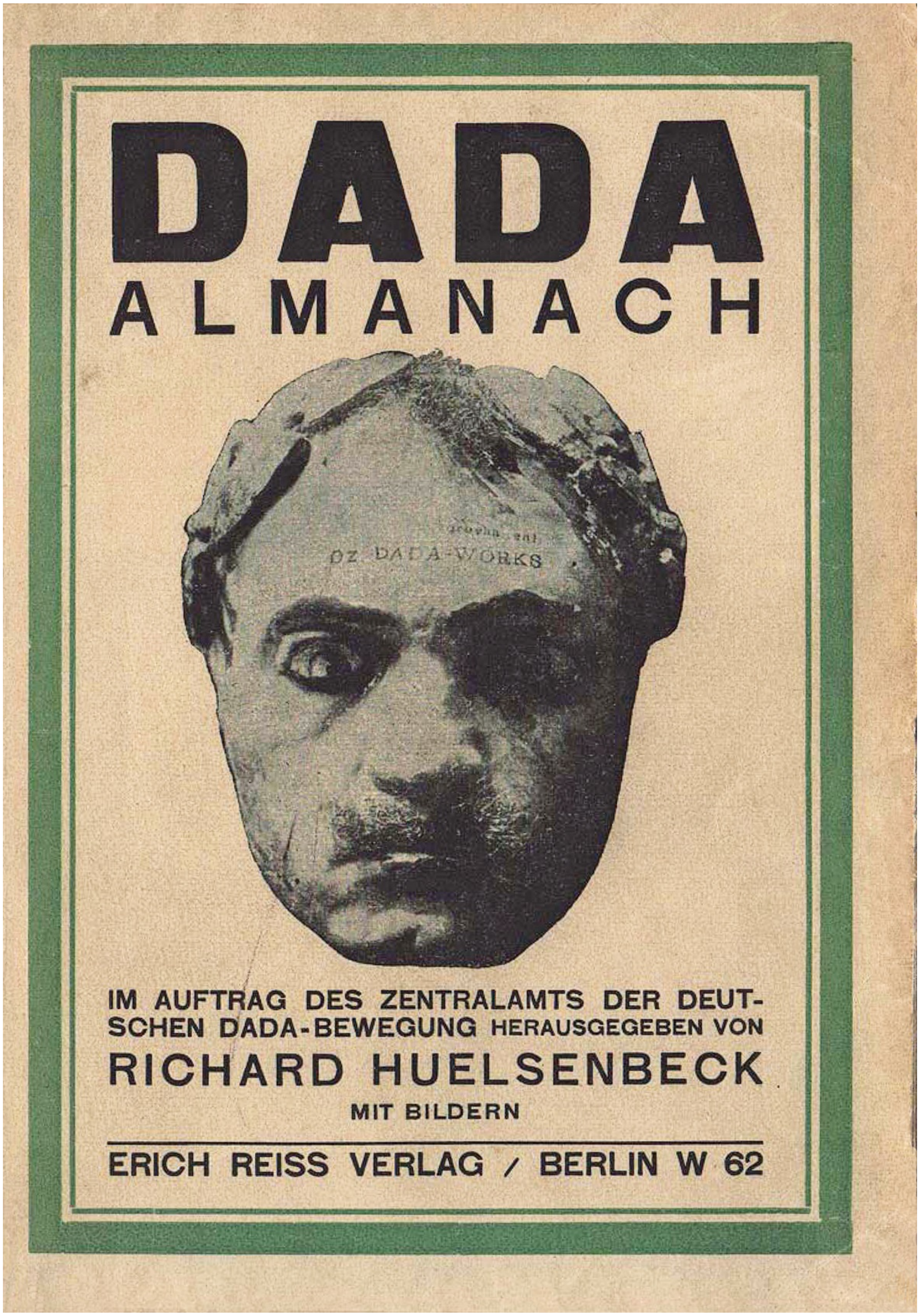


29 Raoul Hausmann, *Tatlin at Home*, 1920

In ‘Dada riots, moves and dies in Berlin’ (*Studio International*, April 1971), Hausmann mentions the influence of the Russian Jefim Golyschev, who made assemblages of unusual materials as well as collages. Hausmann’s *Spirit of Our Time*, a wooden head with a wallet, tape measure, collapsible drinking cup and numbered card (among other things) added to it, was intended to express the petty bourgeois spirit of the times, unthinking, without individuality, reduced to a cipher and progressively dehumanized. Both the assembling of diverse objects to represent characteristics or to, in a sense, ‘narrate’, and the substituting of a part of the human form with another, often mechanical, object, are practices that have parallels in photomontage. *Spirit of Our Time* was, it seems, constructed after the Dada Fair.[**30**] One of the objects that aroused considerable interest at the Fair, and was reproduced on the cover of Huelsenbeck’s *Dada Almanach* (1920) where it comes to resemble a photomontage, was an altered and partially painted white plaster replica of Beethoven’s death mask, by Otto Schmalhausen, Dada-Oz, Grosz’s brother-in-law.[**31**]



30 Raoul Hausmann, *The Spirit of Our Time – Mechanical Head*, *c*. 1920



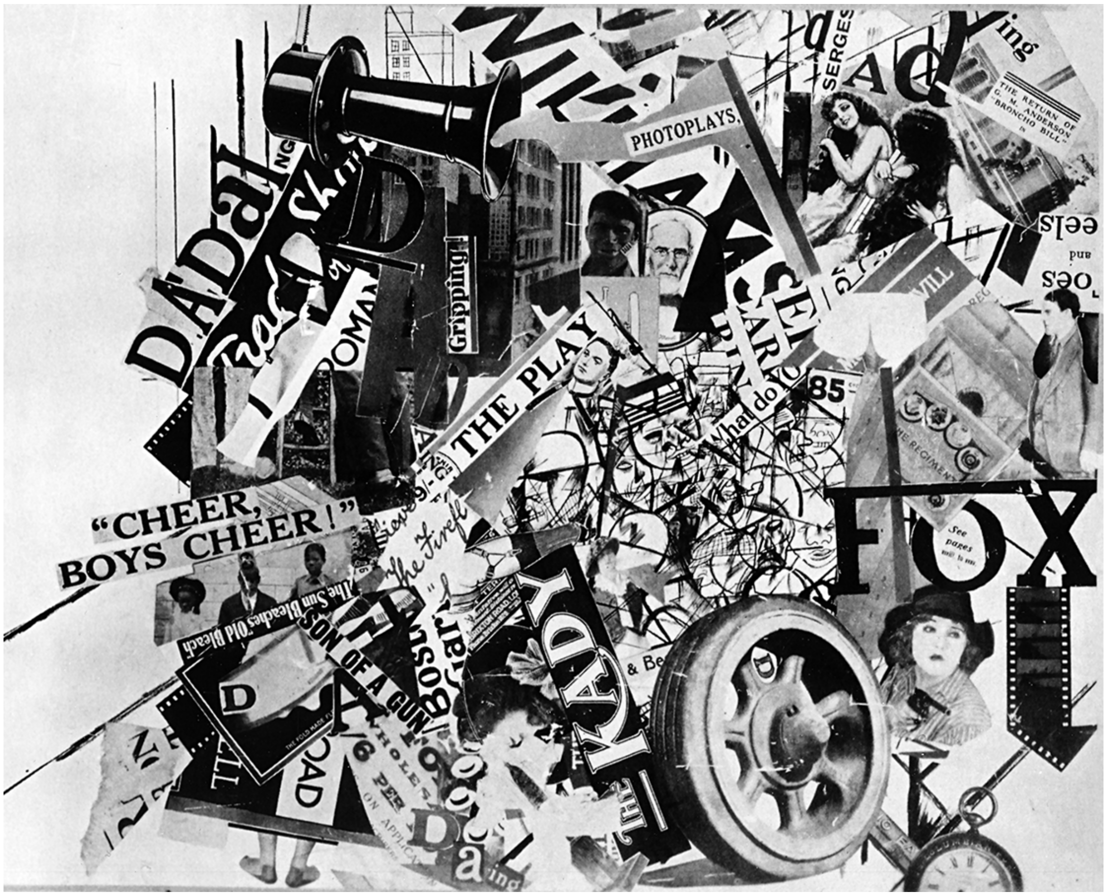
DADA
ALMANACH

IM AUFTRAG DES ZENTRALAMTS DER DEUTSCHEN DADA-BEWEGUNG HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
RICHARD HUELSENBECK
MIT BILDERN

ERICH REISS VERLAG / BERLIN W 62

31 Cover of *Dada Almanach*, 1920

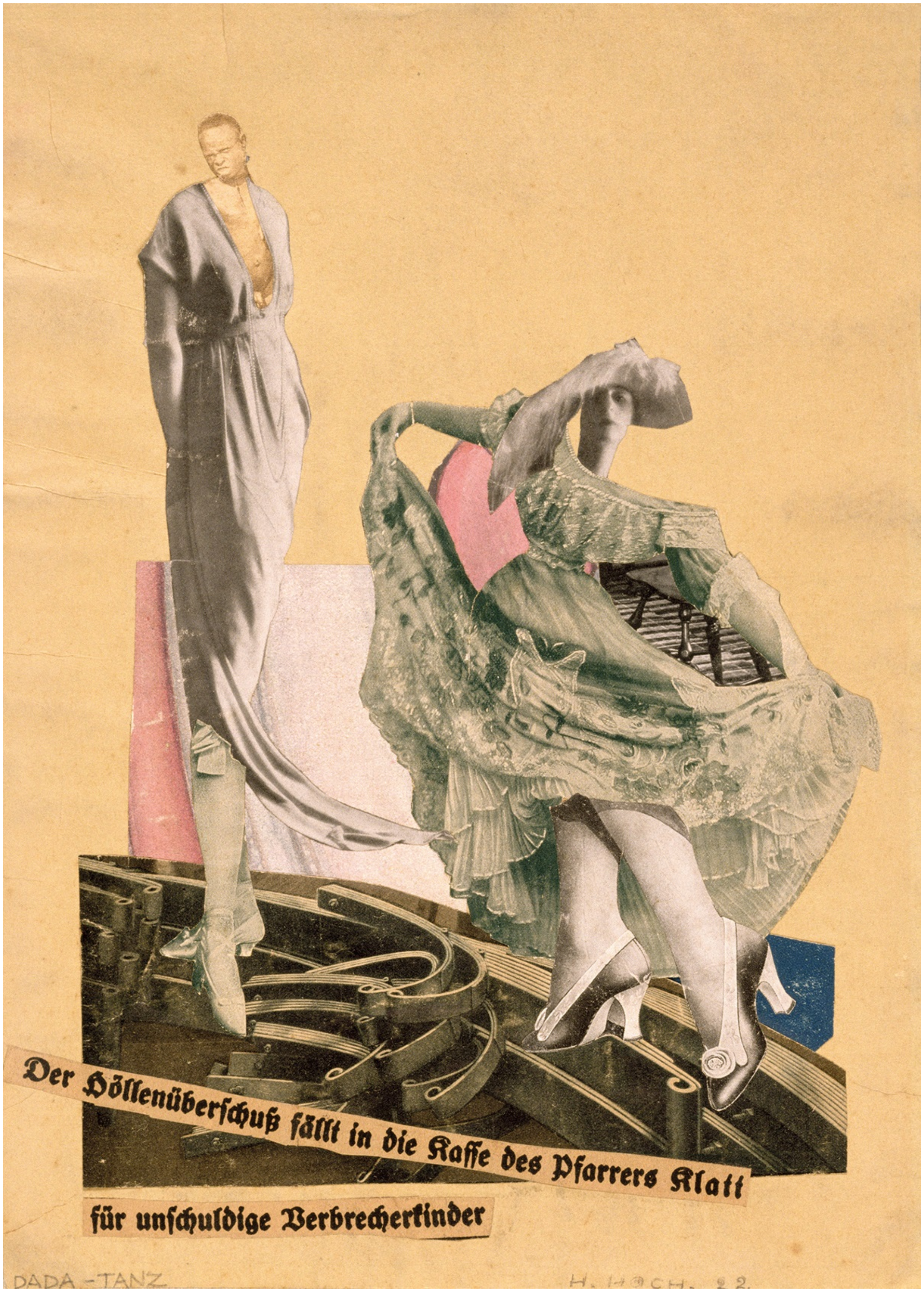
Hannah Höch’s photomontages, like *Cut with the Kitchen Knife*,[14] are often considerably larger than those of Hausmann, Grosz or Heartfield, and are also radically different in composition.[**16**] No attempt is made to create an illusionistic space, as Hausmann and Grosz frequently do, nor the explosive fragmentation and surface splintering of their *Life and Activity in Universal City at 12.05 midday*. In *Cut with the Kitchen Knife*, disparate elements, photographs and scraps of text are thickly scattered over the surface, but most still remain as legible as words on a page.[**32**] Yet where the paper is left blank, a dizzying and alarming space is created around the little figures suspended there. Cogs, wheels and other bits of machinery dominate the heads and bodies, which are often grotesquely re-assembled. The tiny head of a bearded man, for instance, tops the body of the huge baby on the right. Many are portraits of friends, fellow Dadas and the famous. Lenin appears beside Baader, just above the inscription ‘Die grosse dada’ (The big dada), while Hausmann dangles, with the body of a mechanical puppet, just below. In the lower left section, several photographs of crowd scenes are pasted together to construct an apparently more ordered but actually discontinuous space. The crowds are being harangued by a puppet-like demagogue: ‘Tretet dada bei’ (Join dada).


DADA
"CHEER, BOYS CHEER!"
PHOTOPLAYS
SERGES
THE RETURN OF G. M. ANDERSON "BRONCHO BILL"
Gripping!
THE PLAY
What do
FOX
The Sun Bleaches Old Bleach
SON OF A GUN
THE KADY
See pages

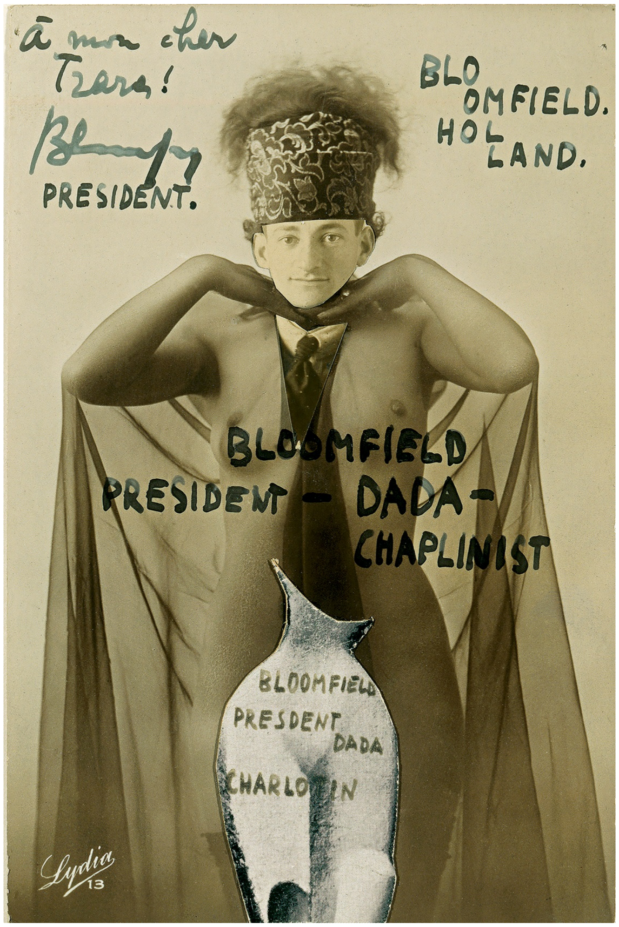
32 George Grosz and John Heartfield, *Life and Activity in Universal City at 12.05 midday*, 1919

Portraits and self-portraits are commonly included in the Dada photomontages. Hausmann, Grosz, Baader and Höch all included photographs of themselves or their friends, and sometimes the portrait is fictional, as in Hausmann's *Tatlin at Home* or Baader's *The Author in his Home (1920). In Grosz and Heartfield's Corrected Self-Portrait of Rousseau (1920), the head of Rousseau himself is replaced with that of Hausmann.*[**36**, **37**]

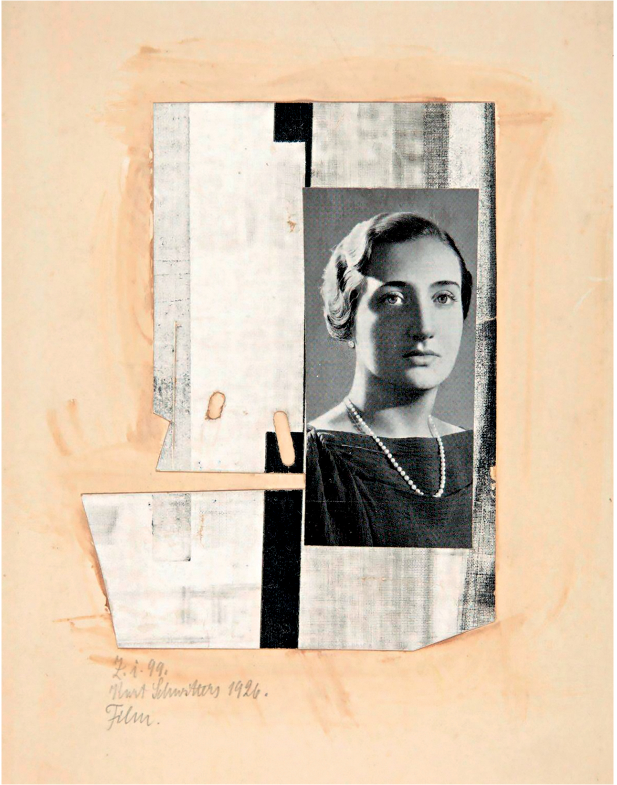
The juxtaposition of the human and the mechanical was a recurrent theme in the montages of the Berlin Dadaists, and also in those of Ernst in Cologne and Kurt Schwitters in Hanover. Although Schwitters emphasized the non-illustrational use of his collage materials, there are several works as early as 1919–20 that incorporate photographs, and he continued sporadically to mix photographs and engravings in his collages all his life.[15]


Der Höllenüberſchuß fällt in die Kaſſe des Pfarrers Klatt
für unſchuldige Verbrecherkinder
DADA-TANZ
H. HÖCH. 22.

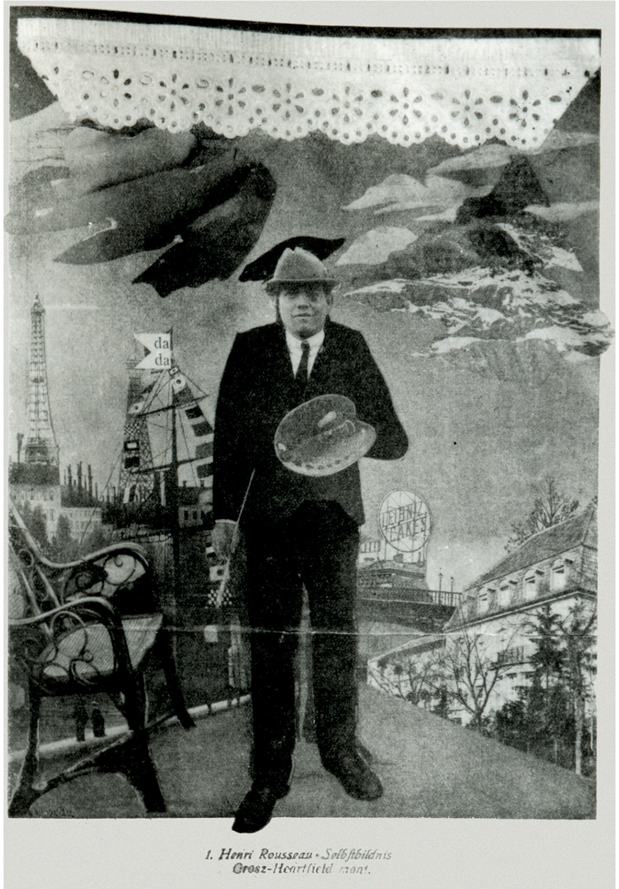
33 Hannah Höch, *Dada-Dance*, 1922


à mon cher Tzara!
PRESIDENT.
BLOOMFIELD. HOLLAND.
BLOOMFIELD PRESIDENT – DADA – CHAPLINIST
BLOOMFIELD PRESDENT DADA CHARLOTIN
Lydia 13

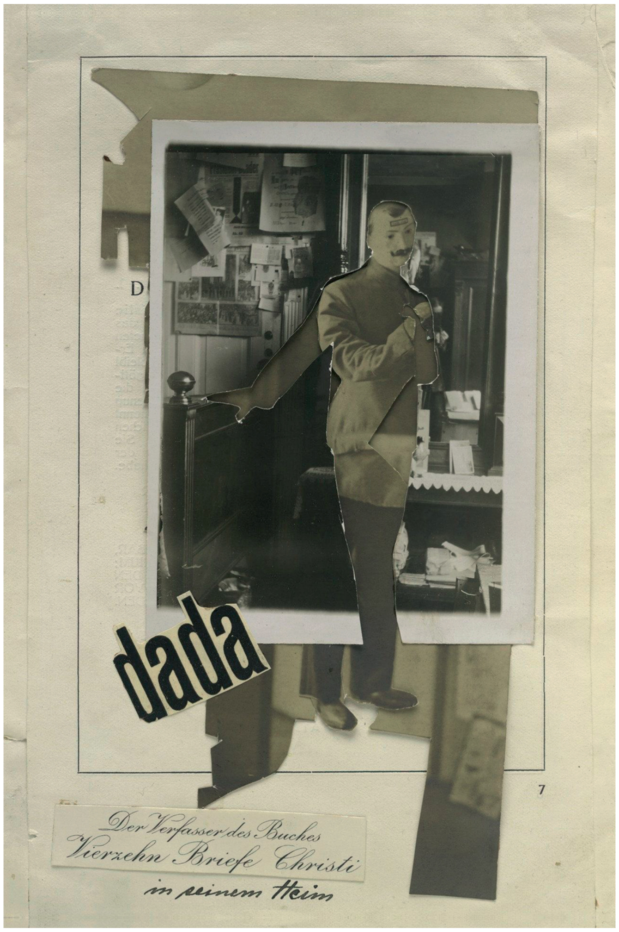
34 Erwin Blumenfeld (Bloomfield), *Bloomfield President Dada-Chaplinist*, 1921


Z. i. 99.
Kurt Schwitters 1926.
Film.

35 Kurt Schwitters, *Film*, 1926


da
da
LEIBNIZ CAKES
1. Henri Rousseau · Selbſtbildnis
Grosz-Heartfield mont.

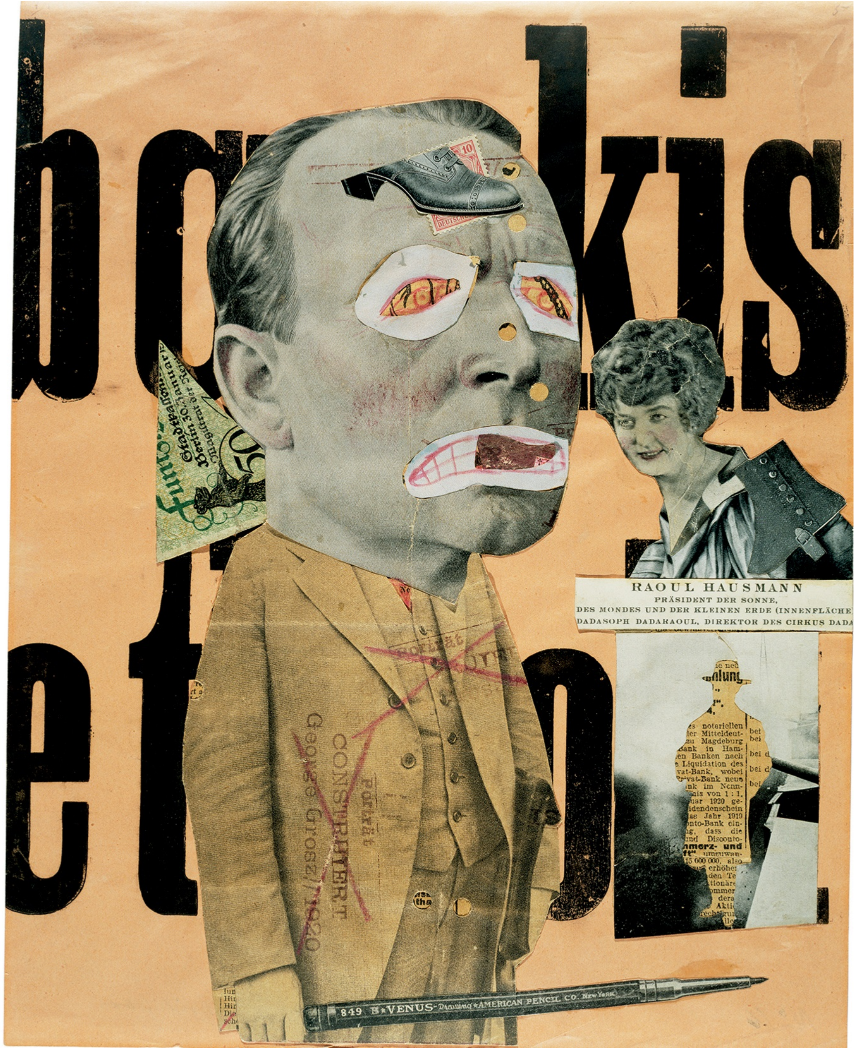
36 George Grosz and John Heartfield, *Corrected Self-Portrait of Rousseau*, 1920



37 Johannes Baader, *The Author in his Home*, 1920

There was also a close connection between Dada photomontage and the Dada poetry of, for instance, Schwitters, Hans Arp and Tristan Tzara, which involved the random use of sentences from newspapers, scraps of conversation and clichés out of context, words wrenched from their normal associations.

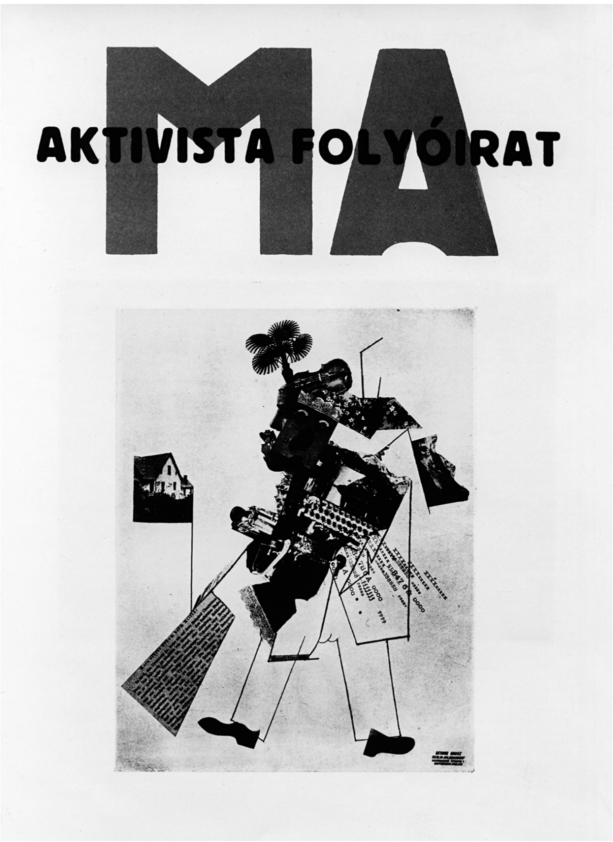
In Dada collages and photomontages, fragments of text (usually from ready-made sources, like their companion photos and engravings) are used far more aggressively than in Cubism, in a mixture that often tries to deny the undeniable distinction between word and image. Texts are stressed for visual properties, and Hausmann on occasion used his own ‘phonetic poem posters’ as the basis for a photomontage, as in *The Art Critic*.[38]


RAOUL HAUSMANN
PRÄSIDENT DER SONNE,
DES MONDES UND DER KLEINEN ERDE (INNENFLÄCHE
DADASOPH DADARAOUL, DIREKTOR DES CIRKUS DADA
CONSTRUIERT
George Grosz 1920
849 VENUS AMERICAN PENCIL CO. New York

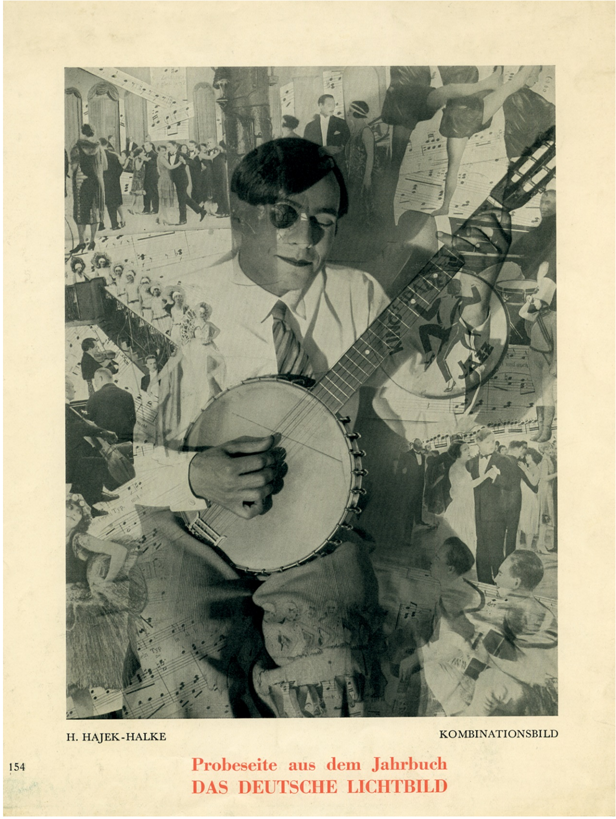
38 Raoul Hausmann, *The Art Critic*, 1919

ABCD (1923–24) is like a swan-song of Dada, a scrapbook of Dada activities.[41] Hausmann himself, in a photograph that appears more than once in his photomontages, declaims one of his phonetic poems (‘ABCD’, the first letters of the alphabet standing for the sound poem), and has a wheel-like monocle drawn on his eye. Numbered tickets from the Kaiser’s jubilee recall provocative interruptions of official ceremonies; the Merz ticket commemorates Hausmann’s friendship with Schwitters; and the tiny scrap of map in the top right shows Harrar, the town in Ethiopia where Rimbaud, Hausmann’s favourite poet, acknowledged by Dada and Surrealism in general, lived after renouncing poetry. What is the birth to which Hausmann refers with the obstetric examination cut from the pages of a medical textbook – Dada itself?

Hausmann was to remain loyal to Dada anarchism, but others, after Dada, took up more actively political positions. Looking back on Dada, Grosz and Herzfelde wrote in *Die Kunst ist in Gefahr* (1925): ‘Our mistake was to have concerned ourselves with art at all…. We saw then the insane end-products of the prevailing social order, and burst out laughing…. We did not yet see that a system underlay this insanity.’[16] It was precisely this system that Heartfield was to reveal and make comprehensible, the better to fight it.



39 George Grosz, cover of *Ma*, June 1921. Dada quickly spread to the numerous little magazines that flourished during and after the First World War. The Hungarian avant-garde periodical *Ma*, which moved to Vienna in 1920, opened its pages to Dada from 1921. This was one of several periodicals to marry International Constructivism and Dada, whose mutual influence in photomontage is of particular interest

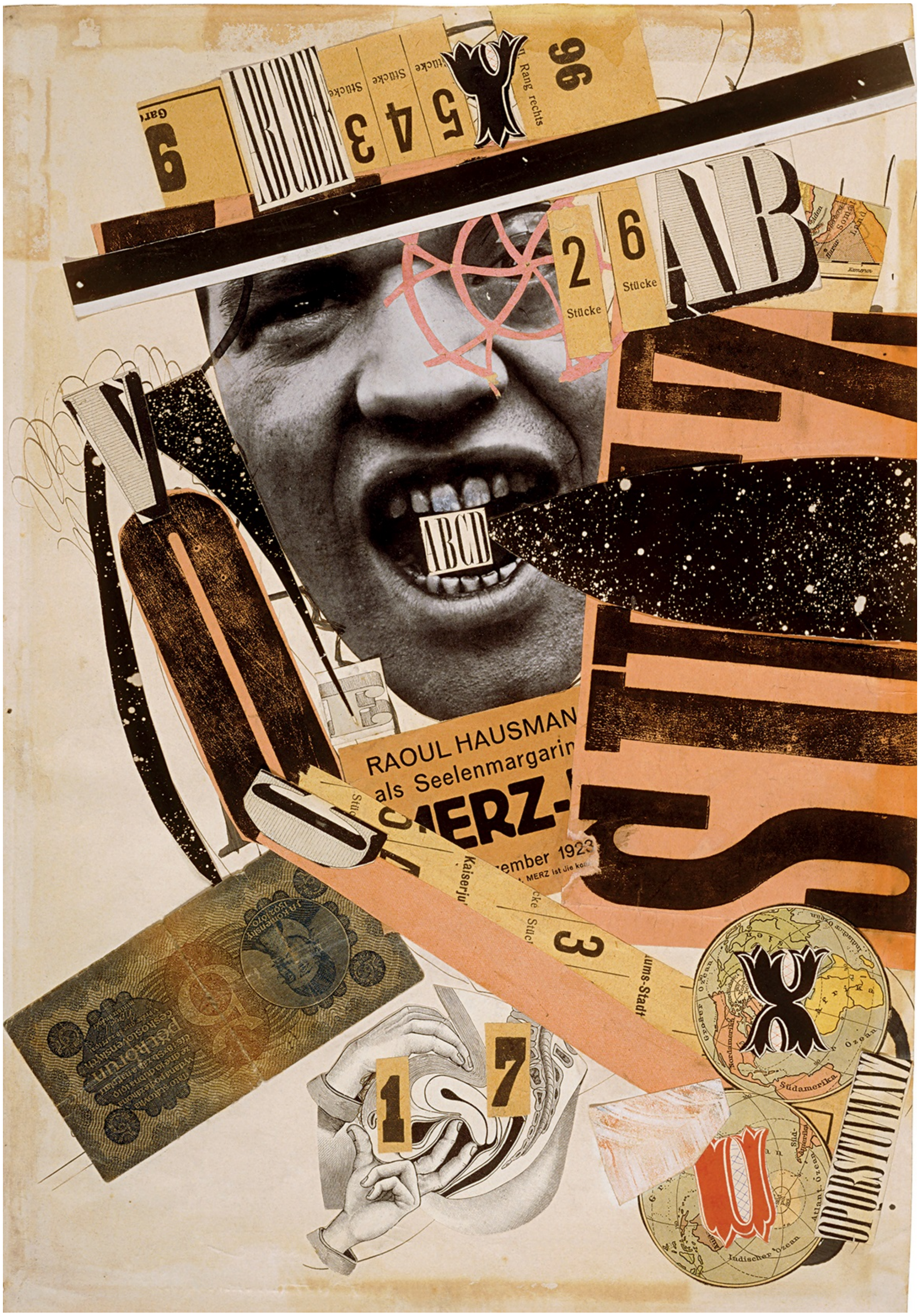


H. HAJEK-HALKE KOMBINATIONSBILD

154

Probeseite aus dem Jahrbuch
DAS DEUTSCHE LICHTBILD

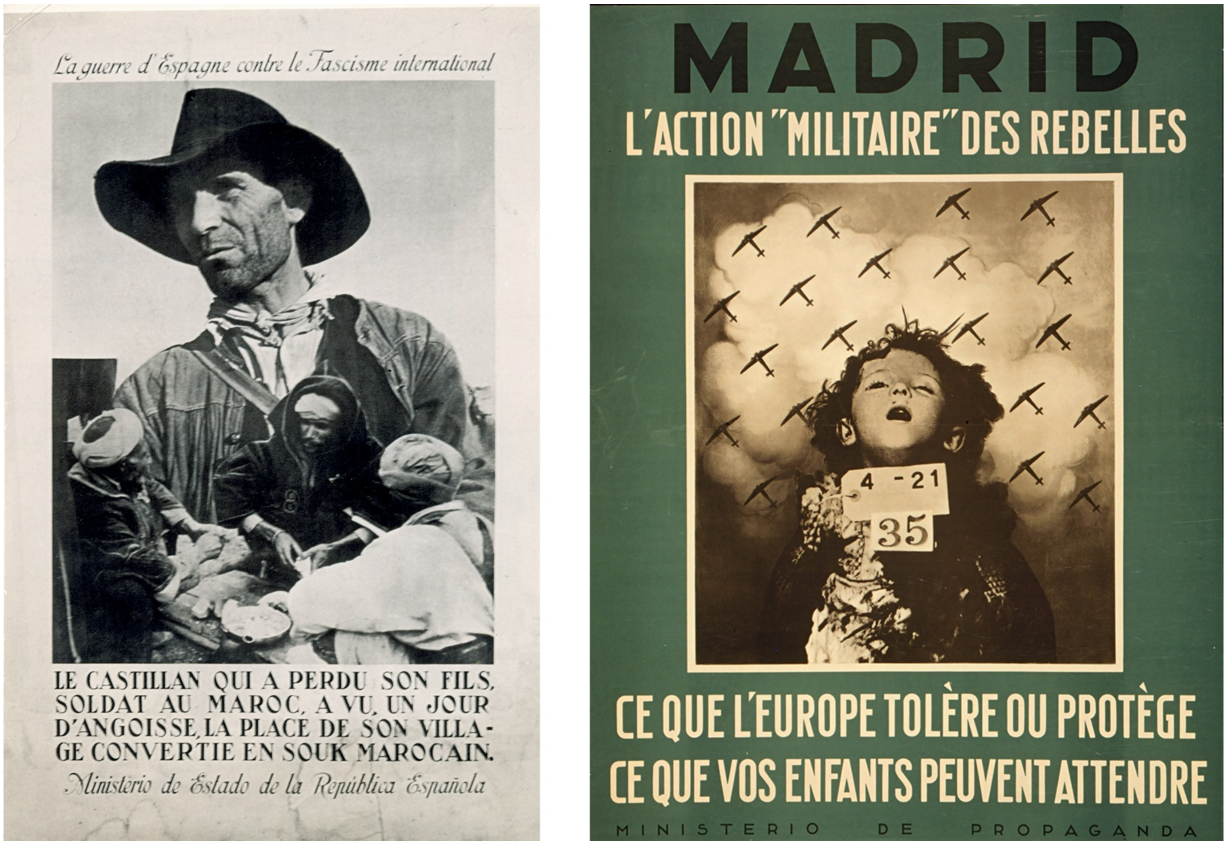
40 Heinz Hajek-Halke, *The Banjo Player*, *c.* 1930


ABCD
Stücke
Rang rechts
96
2
Stücke
6
Stücke
AB
ABCD
RAOUL HAUSMAN
als Seelenmargarin
MERZ-
ember 1923
3
ums-Stadt
Kaiserju
1
7
Südamerika
Indischer Ozean

41 Raoul Hausmann, *ABCD*, 1923–24

John Heartfield

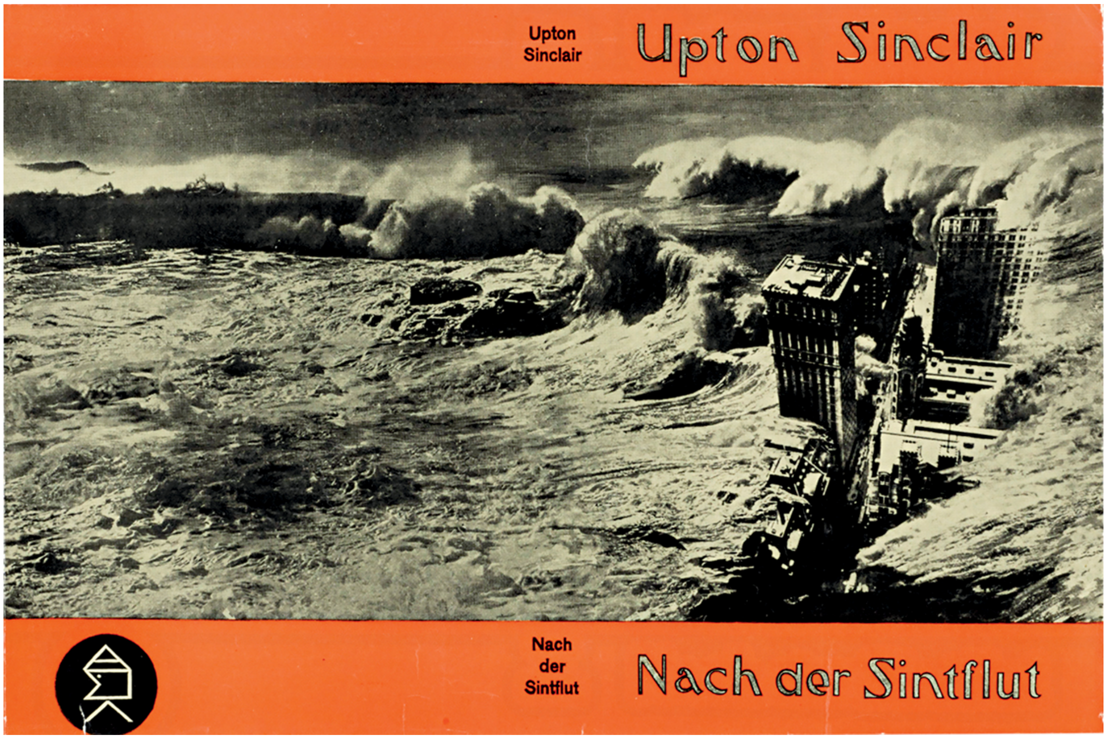
Photomontage was used increasingly by all political factions in Europe and Russia in the decades before the Second World War. During the Spanish Civil War, montage posters were made for both Franco and the Republicans; the Italian Fascists under Mussolini also used it extensively.[**42, 43**] But it is not surprising that photomontage is associated particularly with the political Left, because it is ideally suited to the expression of the Marxist dialectic. It was undoubtedly used most brilliantly by John Heartfield, first against the Weimar Republic and then to chart the terrible rise of Fascism and the dictatorship of Hitler. In *Metamorphosis* (1934), Heartfield claims that the Weimar Republic was the caterpillar from which the Death's Head Moth – Hitler – hatched.[63]


La guerre d'Espagne contre le Fascisme international
LE CASTILLAN QUI A PERDU SON FILS,
SOLDAT AU MAROC, A VU, UN JOUR
D'ANGOISSE, LA PLACE DE SON VILLA-
GE CONVERTIE EN SOUK MAROCAIN.
Ministerio de Estado de la República Española
MADRID
L'ACTION "MILITAIRE" DES REBELLES
4 - 21
35
CE QUE L'EUROPE TOLÈRE OU PROTÈGE
CE QUE VOS ENFANTS PEUVENT ATTENDRE
MINISTERIO DE PROPAGANDA

42, **43** Spanish Republican posters for distribution in France during the Spanish Civil War

Disillusioned by art school in Munich, Heartfield had worked for a film company in Berlin from 1916. After Dada, he turned more or less exclusively to photomontage, working for the German Communist press and designing covers and illustrations for books published by the Malik-Verlag, a publishing house which he and his brother had founded during the

First World War.[44] Hounded out of Germany in 1933, he continued to work from Prague, and then in 1938 took refuge in London. He died in 1968 in East Berlin.

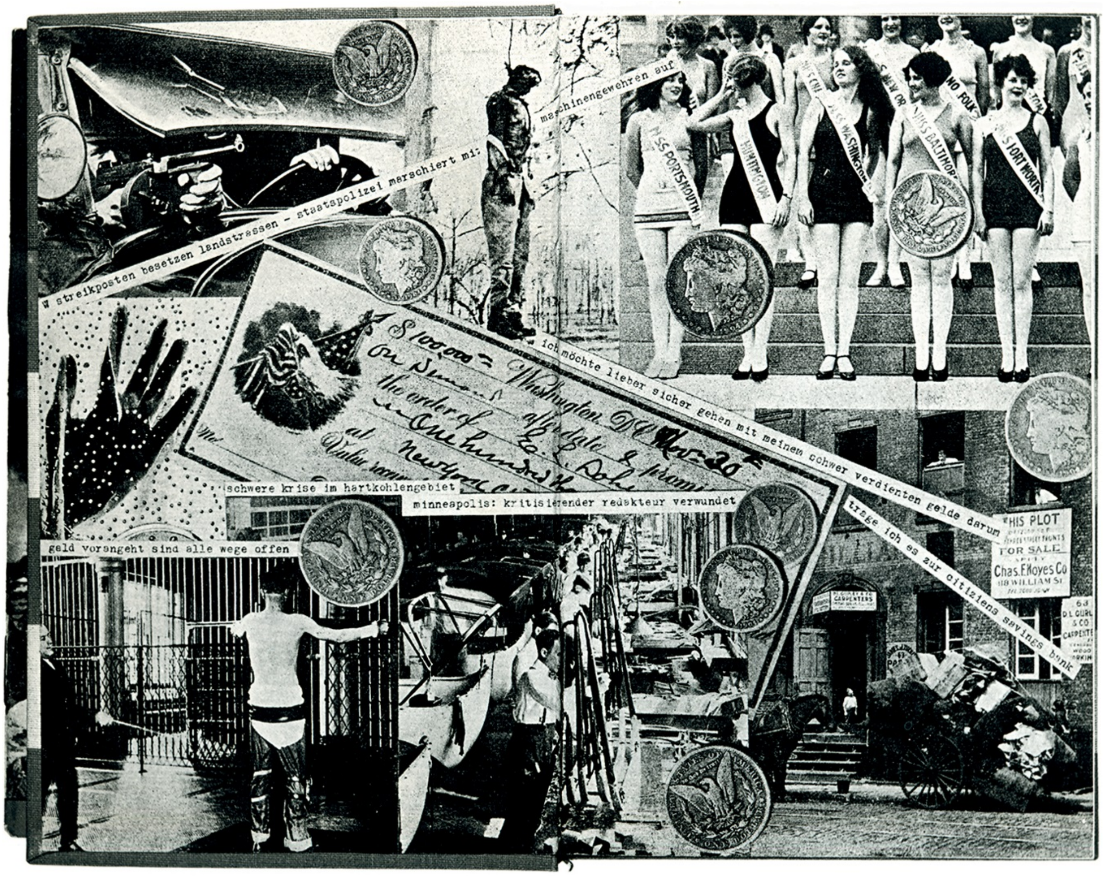


44 John Heartfield, cover for Upton Sinclair's *After the Flood*, 1925

In the essay 'John Heartfield et la beauté révolutionnaire' (1935) from his book *Les Collages*, Louis Aragon describes the way Heartfield moved from chaotic Dada images to his unique art: 'As he was playing with the fire of appearances, reality took fire around him…. John Heartfield was no longer playing. The scraps of photographs that he formerly manoeuvred for the pleasure of stupefaction, under his fingers began to *signify*.'[17]

The contrast between the explosive, chaotic burst of Heartfield's *Universal City* and the purposeful juxtapositions of the montage for *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* has already been discussed in the context of Dada. Few of Heartfield's photomontages subsequently retain the device of an obviously divided or fragmented surface, but the 1927 endpapers for Dorfmann's *Im Land des Rekordzahlen* (*In the land of record profits*) do directly juxtapose separate fragments.[45] Here, Heartfield contrasts images of beauty queens with a lynching, scatters dollars over the surface and intersperses phrases, perhaps from newspapers: 'strike pickets main roads –

state police marches with machine guns'; 'I'd rather be safe with my hard-earned money – that's why I take it to the citizen's savings bank'; 'serious crisis in Minneapolis coal district: critical editor wounded'; 'money opens all doors'.

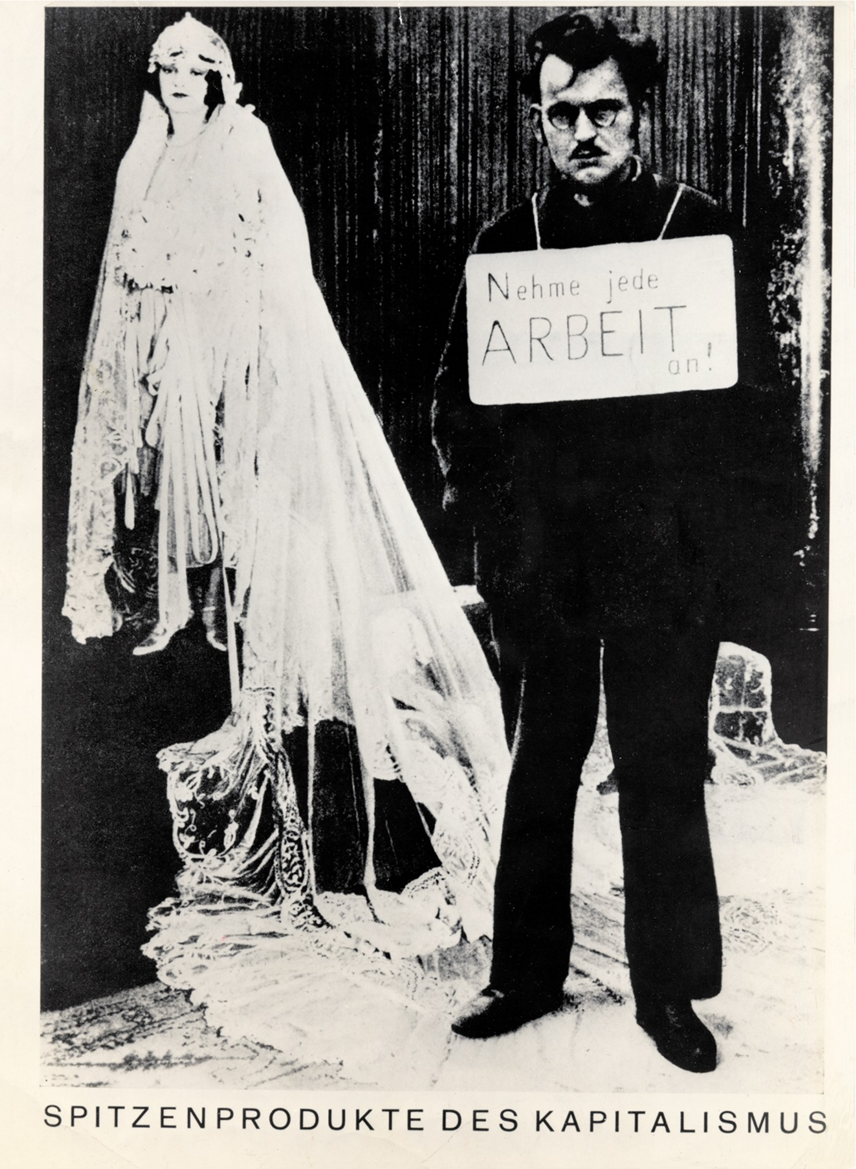

w streikposten besetzen landstrassen – staatspolizei marschiert mi:
maschinengewehren auf
MISS PORTSMOUTH
HUNTINGTON
MISS WASHINGTON
MISS BALTIMORE
MISS FORT WORTH
ich möchte lieber sicher gehen mit meinem schwer verdienten gelde darum
trage ich es zur citiziens savings bank
schwere krise im hartkohlengebiet
minneapolis: kritisierender redakteur verwundet
geld vorangeht sind alle wege offen
THIS PLOT
FOR SALE
Chas. F. Noyes Co
118 WILLIAM St
CARPENTERS

45 John Heartfield, endpapers for J. Dorfmann's *Im Land des Rekordzahlen*, 1927

Heartfield continued to design book jackets and illustrations, often including photomontage, notably for Kurt Tucholsky's *Deutschland Deutschland uber alles* in 1929; but the great majority of his photomontages were published in newspapers and magazines: *Der Knüppel* (1923–27), the satirical weekly of the KPD (German Communist Party) which he co-edited with Grosz; *Die Rote Fahne*; and *AIZ* (*Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*) which was driven out of Germany in 1933 and subsequently edited from Prague. When his photomontages were exhibited, Heartfield always insisted on having copies of the papers on show beside the original, to underline the fact that his works were political propaganda aimed at a wide public, not private, unique, unrepeatable works of art.

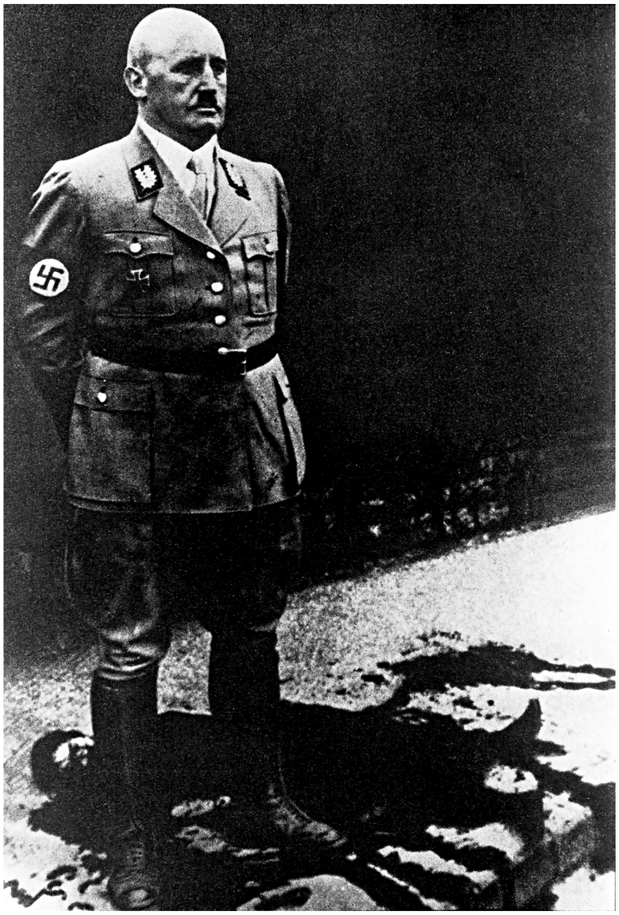
As images, Heartfield’s photomontages are immediately clear and direct, however subtle the message may be. He used to save pictures from books, magazines, photographic agencies and newspapers, or have photographs made for him, and he always called his works photomontages, even when using photographs unaltered or specially posed, on the basis of the caption. In the end, remarkably, whether montaged or not, they still *look* like newspaper photographs. The image fills the whole page, and, however grotesque, remains curiously uncomposed, almost arbitrary; the immediate impression is almost that of an extraordinarily lucky piece of reporting. While the Dadaists, perhaps unconsciously, attempted to avoid the expression of an ideology – implicitly present in any image that is intended to represent reality – by breaking up images, Heartfield was able by juxtaposing them to reveal the ideology for exactly what it was, rendering visible the class structure of social relationships or laying bare the menace of Fascism.

In *The Finest Products of Capitalism*, the unemployed man, with the degrading placard hung round his neck as though he were an object for sale, stands squarely on the priceless lace veil of the bride, who is raised on a slight platform – an altar, or part of the window-dressing? At first she looks like a dummy, but it is a confrontation between two real people.[**46**] The board reads ‘Any work accepted’: in February 1932, six million people were unemployed in Germany. The German title *Spitzenprodukte des Kapitalismus* contains a pun on *Spitze*, which means both ‘lace’ and ‘summit’. We hardly need the original caption, ‘Wedding dress for 10,000 dollars, 20 million jobless’, to see them also as symbols of the injustice of capitalism. They are both soiled by the inability of that system to treat anything as other than a financial counter.



46 John Heartfield, *The Finest Products of Capitalism*, March 1932

In *A Pan-German*, a photograph of the Pan-German leader of the brownshirts, Julius Streicher (who was editor of the *Stürmer*, an anti-Semitic newspaper), is placed over a photograph from the Stuttgart police archives.[47] This photograph had been reproduced in Franz Roh's *Photo-Eye* of 1929 as an example of photograph as document, with the caption 'murder in times of peace'.[48] One version of the photomontage included the text 'The Womb is fruitful yet from which he crept', a quotation from Brecht's poem 'Der anacronistische Zug oder Freiheit und Democracy'. Streicher stands heedless of the blood under his feet, symbol of repressive authority, born of and nourished by violence.

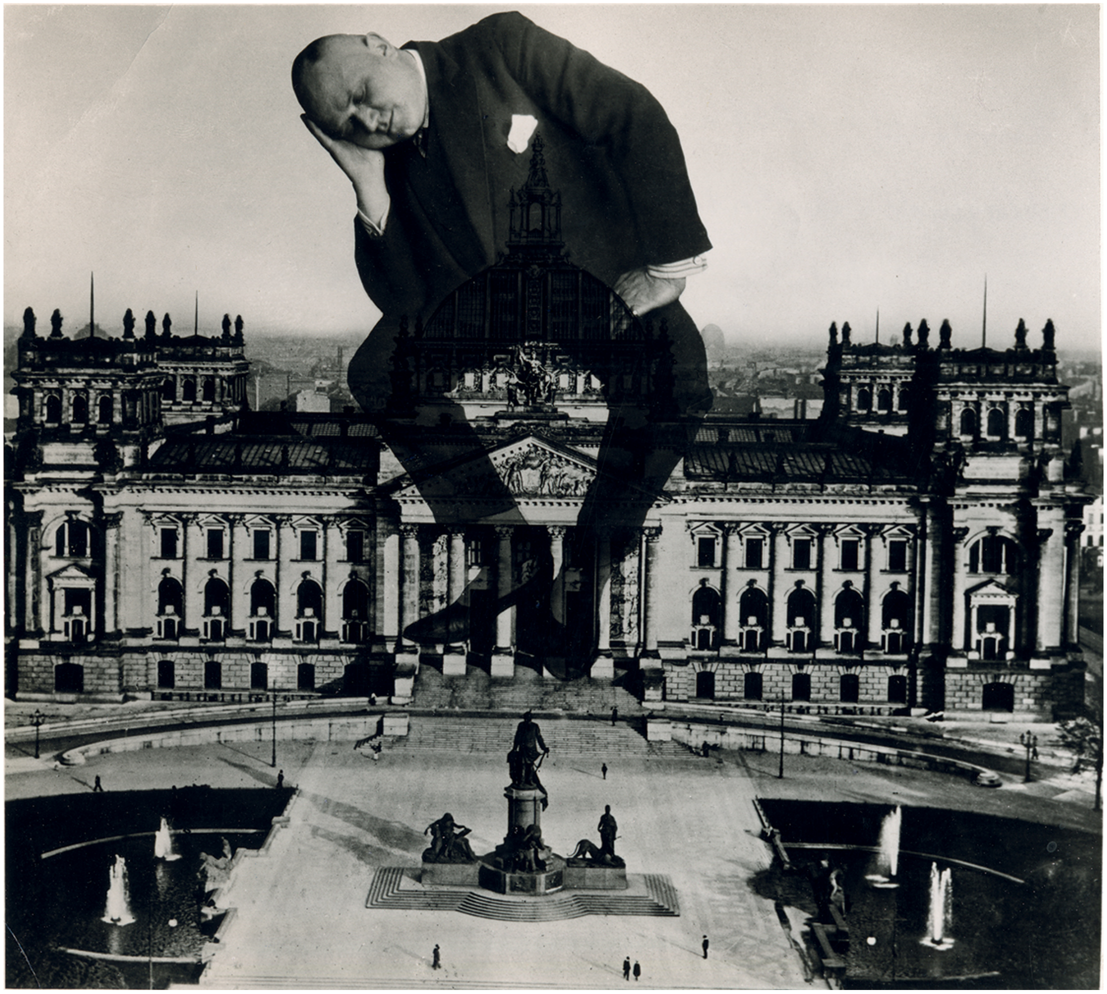


47 John Heartfield, *A Pan-German*, 2 November 1933

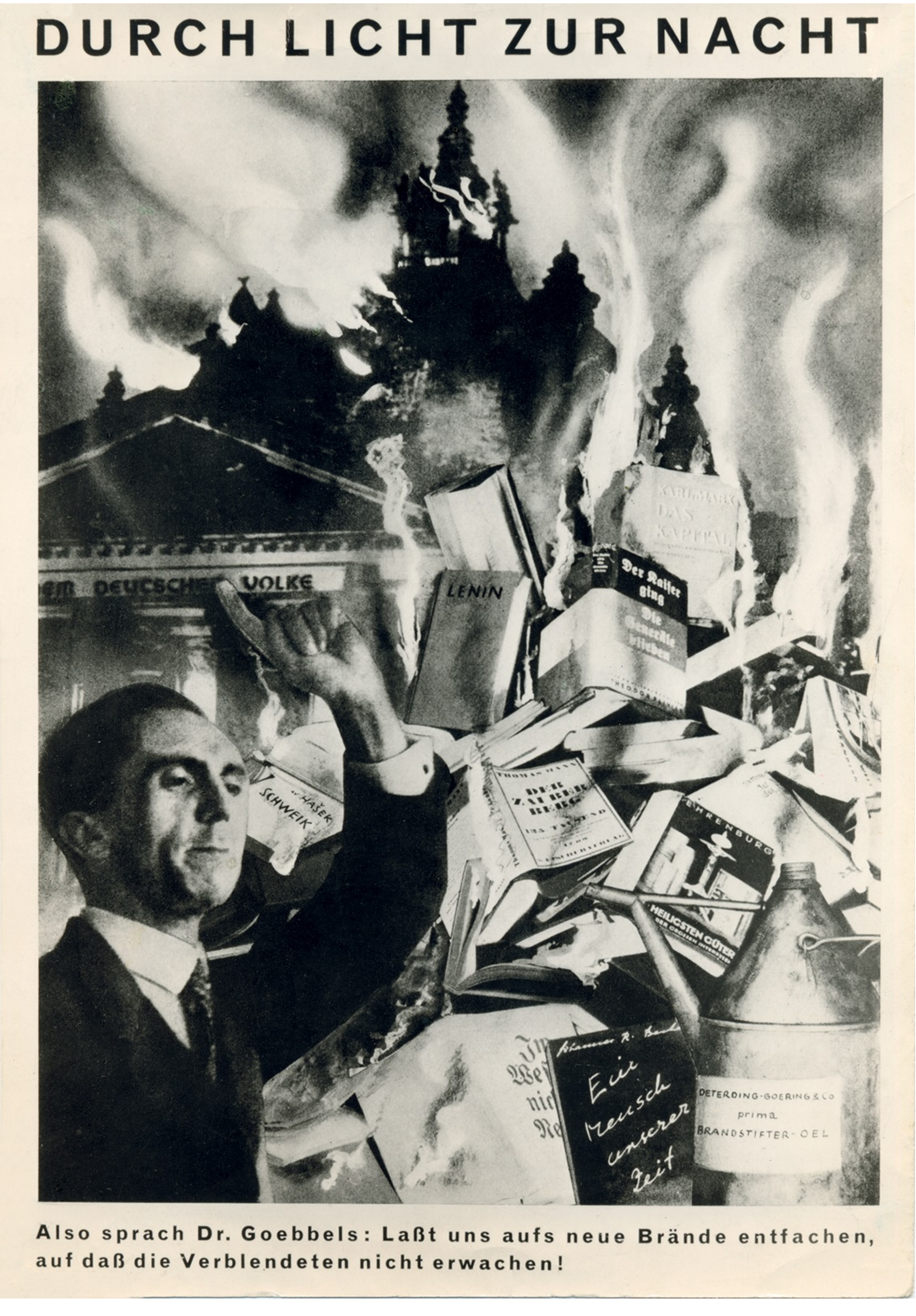
48 Stuttgart police photograph `of a ‘peace-time murder victim’ used in fig. 47

The burning of the Reichstag in February 1933 and the subsequent trial at Leipzig – where the Bulgarian Dimitroff, one of the four accused Communists, so successfully defended himself that they were all acquitted amid massive publicity, while the guilt was fixed (though without positive proof) on the Nazi Party – gave Heartfield the material for some of his most powerful photomontages. In *The Sleeping Reichstag*, Heartfield attacks the somnolent complacency of Parliament in the face of the rise of the Nazi Party.[**49**] The Nazis themselves constantly and unwittingly supplied him with captions.[**53**] For *Justicia* (30 November 1933), the text in *AIZ* read: ‘The executioner and justice/Goering at the Reichstag fire trial: “For me the law is a full blooded affair”.’ Similarly, the caption that accompanied *Through Light to Night* (19 May 1933) when it appeared in *AIZ* read ‘Thus spake Dr. Goebbels: “Let us start new fires so that those who are blinded shall not wake up”.’[**50**] A bonfire of books, including the works of Freud, Kastner, Thomas Mann, Marx, Remarque and Tucholsky, representing the book-burning in Berlin and in various German universities on 10 May 1933, melts into and becomes a part of the flaming Reichstag.[**51**] *Goering the Executioner* (14 September 1933) also refers to the Reichstag fire. Goering’s face comes from an actual photograph and has not been retouched. The text reads: ‘In Leipzig on 21 September four innocent men –

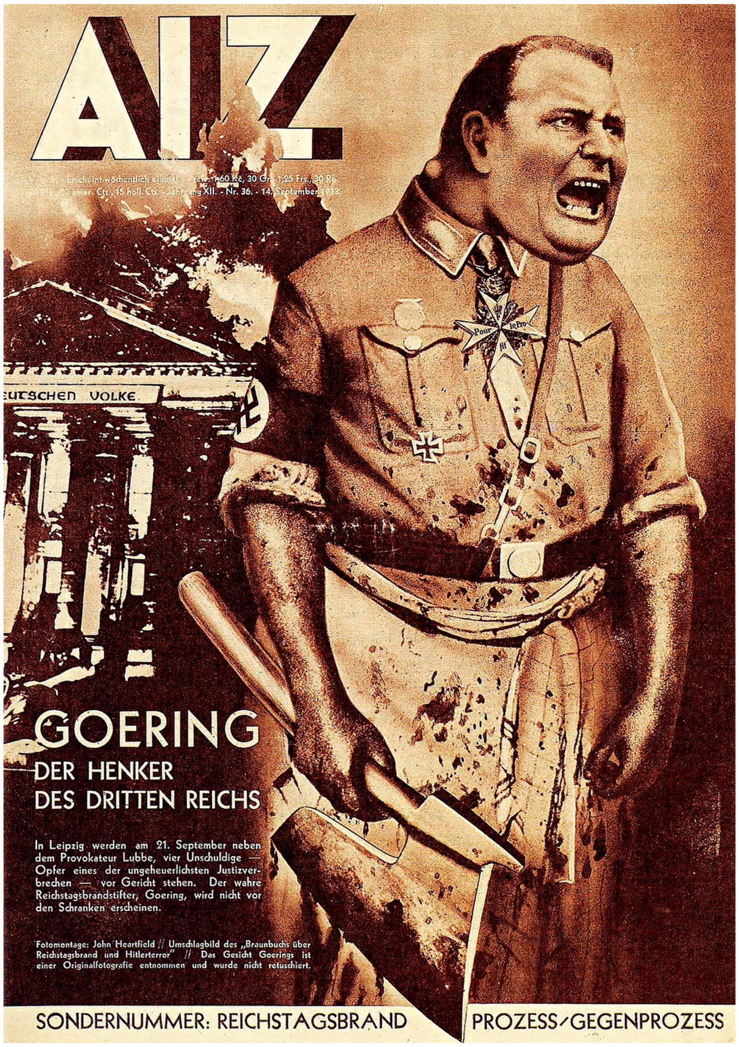
victims of an atrocious judicial crime – will be put on trial together with the provocateur Lubbe. The real Reichstag fire-raiser, Goering, will not appear before the jury.'



49 John Heartfield, *The Sleeping Reichstag*, 1929


DURCH LICHT ZUR NACHT
DEUTSCHEN VOLKE
LENIN
KARL MARX DAS KAPITAL
Der Kaiser ging Die Generäle blieben
DER ZAUBERBERG
SCHWEIK
EHRENBURG
Ein Mensch unserer Zeit
DETERDING-GOERING & Co prima BRANDSTIFTER-OEL
Also sprach Dr. Goebbels: Laßt uns aufs neue Brände entfachen,
auf daß die Verblendeten nicht erwachen!

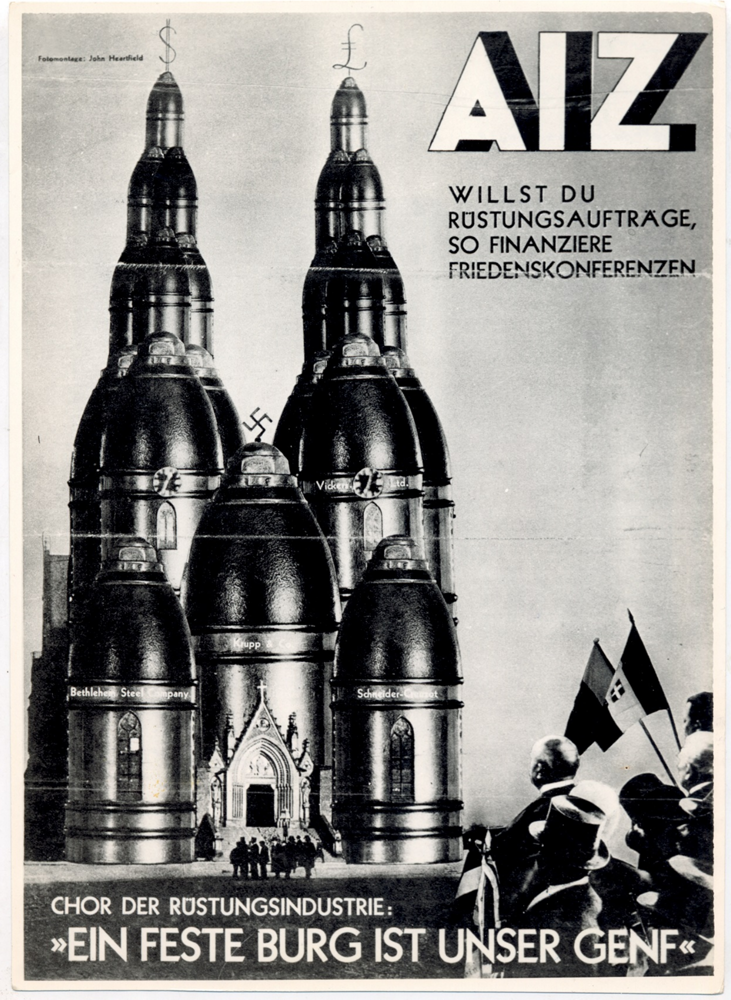
50 John Heartfield, *Through Light to Night*, 19 May 1933


AIZ
Erscheint wöchentlich einmal. Preis: 1,60 Kč, 30 Gr., 1,25 Frs., 30 Rp.
10 amer. Cts., 15 holl. Cts. - Jahrgang XII. - Nr. 36. - 14. September 1933
EUTSCHEN VOLKE
Pour le Mérite
GOERING
DER HENKER
DES DRITTEN REICHS
SONDERNUMMER: REICHSTAGSBRAND
PROZESS/GEGENPROZESS

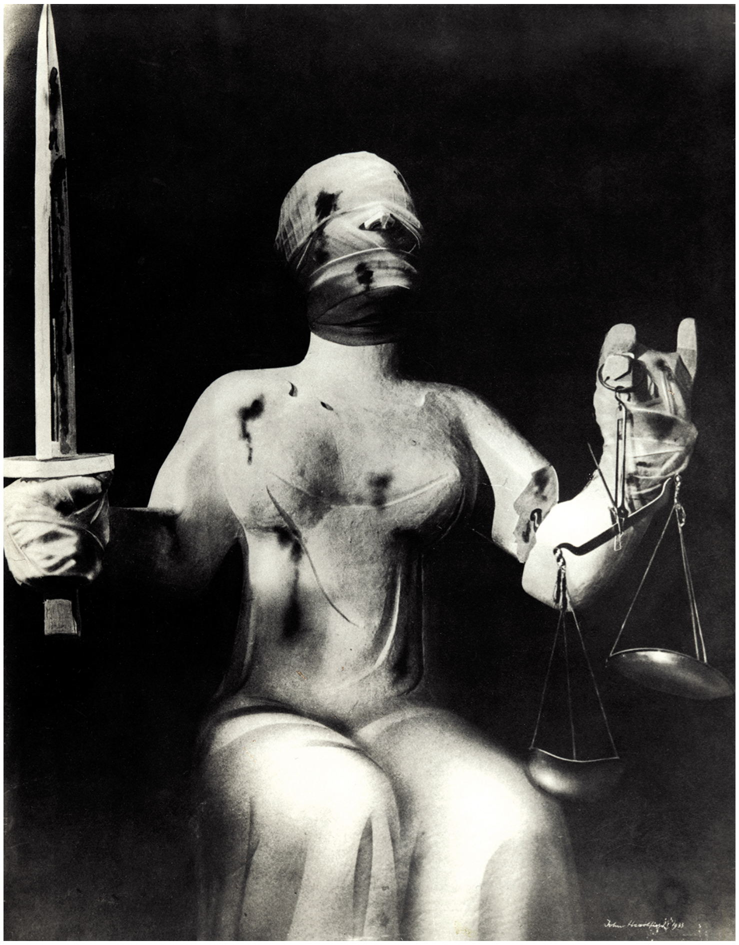
In Leipzig werden am 21. September neben dem Provokateur Lubbe, vier Unschuldige — Opfer eines der ungeheuerlichsten Justizverbrechen — vor Gericht stehen. Der wahre Reichstagsbrandstifter, Goering, wird nicht vor den Schranken erscheinen.

Fotomontage: John Heartfield // Umschlagbild des „Braunbuchs über Reichstagsbrand und Hitlerterror" // Das Gesicht Goerings ist einer Originalfotografie entnommen und wurde nicht retuschiert.

51 John Heartfield, *Goering the Executioner*, 14 September 1933


Fotomontage: John Heartfield
AIZ
WILLST DU RÜSTUNGSAUFTRÄGE, SO FINANZIERE FRIEDENSKONFERENZEN
Vickers Ltd.
Krupp & Co.
Bethlehem Steel Company
Schneider-Creuzot
CHOR DER RÜSTUNGSINDUSTRIE:
»EIN FESTE BURG IST UNSER GENF«

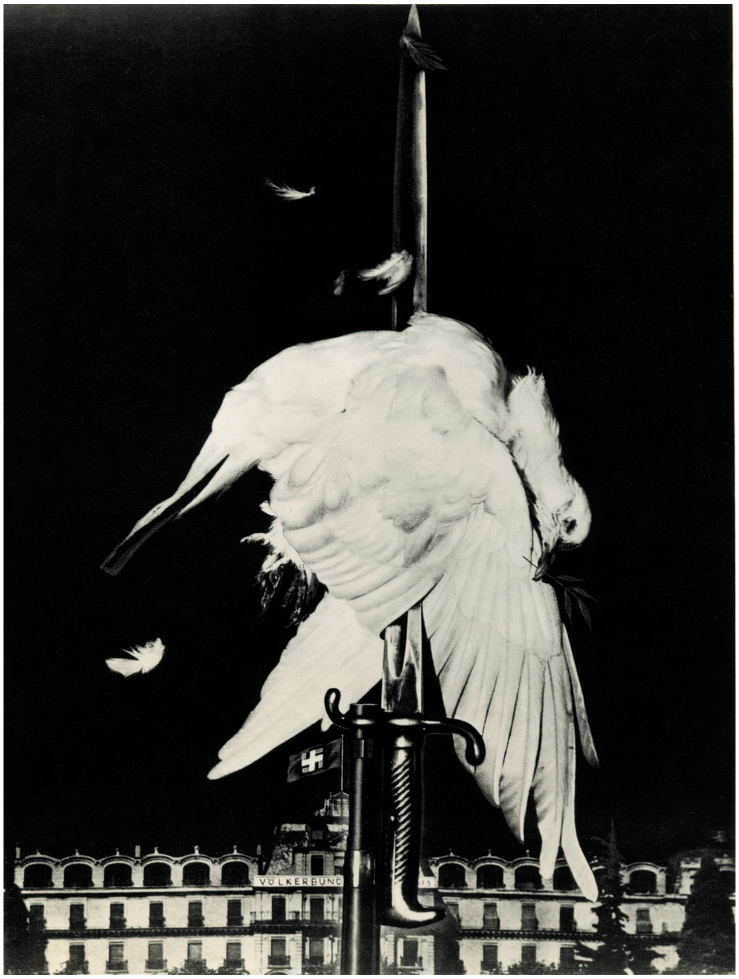
52 John Heartfield, *Hymn to the Forces of Yesterday: we pray to the might of the bomb*, 12 April 1934



53 John Heartfield, *Justicia*, 30 November 1933

The essential difference from caricature is that the artist has cut out and assembled real objects and events. As John Berger puts it in his brilliant essay ‘The Political Uses of Photomontage’: ‘The peculiar advantage of photomontage lies in the fact that everything which has been cut out keeps its familiar photographic appearance. We are still looking first at *things* and only afterwards at symbols.’[18]

The photomontages which are photographs of specially constructed objects, like the bayoneted dove or the Christmas tree with its branches bent into a swastika in *O Little German Christmas Tree how bent your branches seem to be*, are an odd extension of this quality, because, although clearly symbolic, their effect is all the more powerful because they are real objects. *The Spirit of Geneva* (27 November 1932) combines a specially made object with photomontage.[**54**] It was first published in *AIZ* under this title, and was intended as a comment on the League of Nations. The second version (1960) bore the title *Never Again!* and the third (1967) had additional text: ‘Peoples, may your children / all be saved from war. / Preventing war / shall be your triumph.’



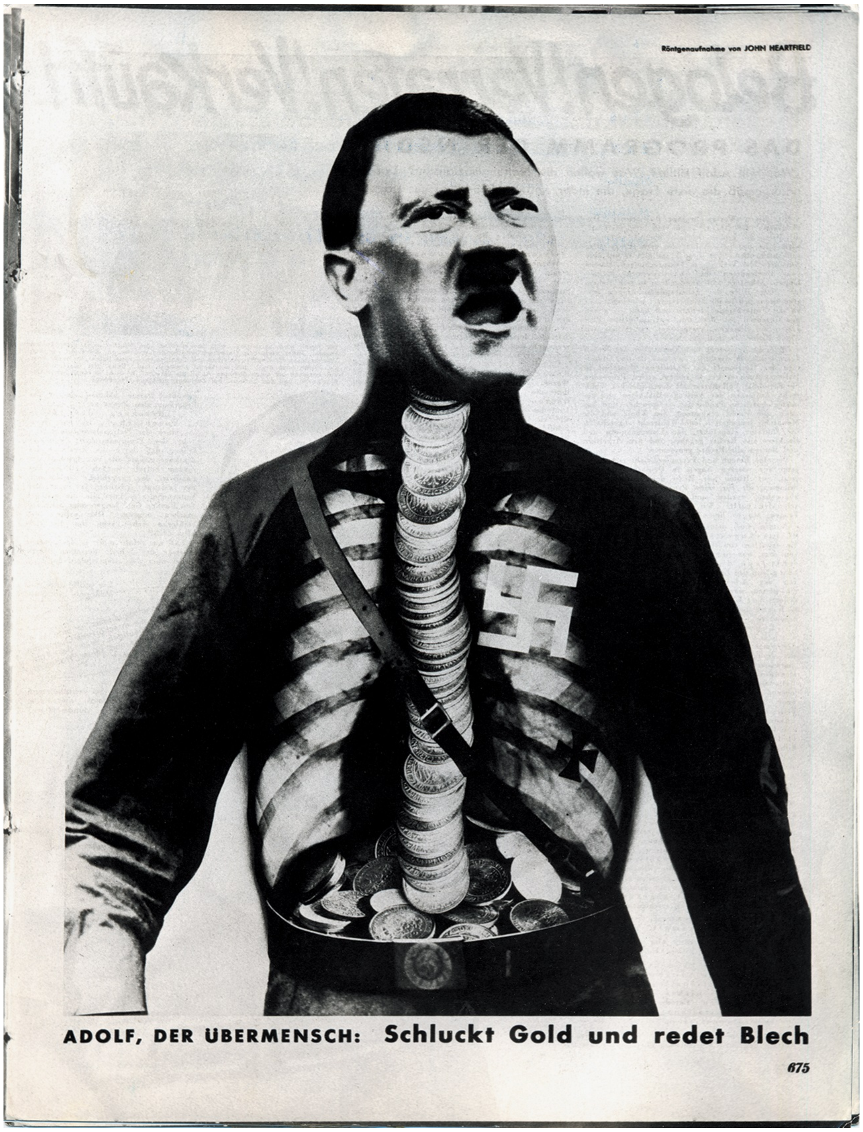
54 John Heartfield, *The Spirit of Geneva*, 27 November 1932

Heartfield did not do his own photography, and W. Reissman, one of the photographers he employed, gives a fascinating account of working with him:

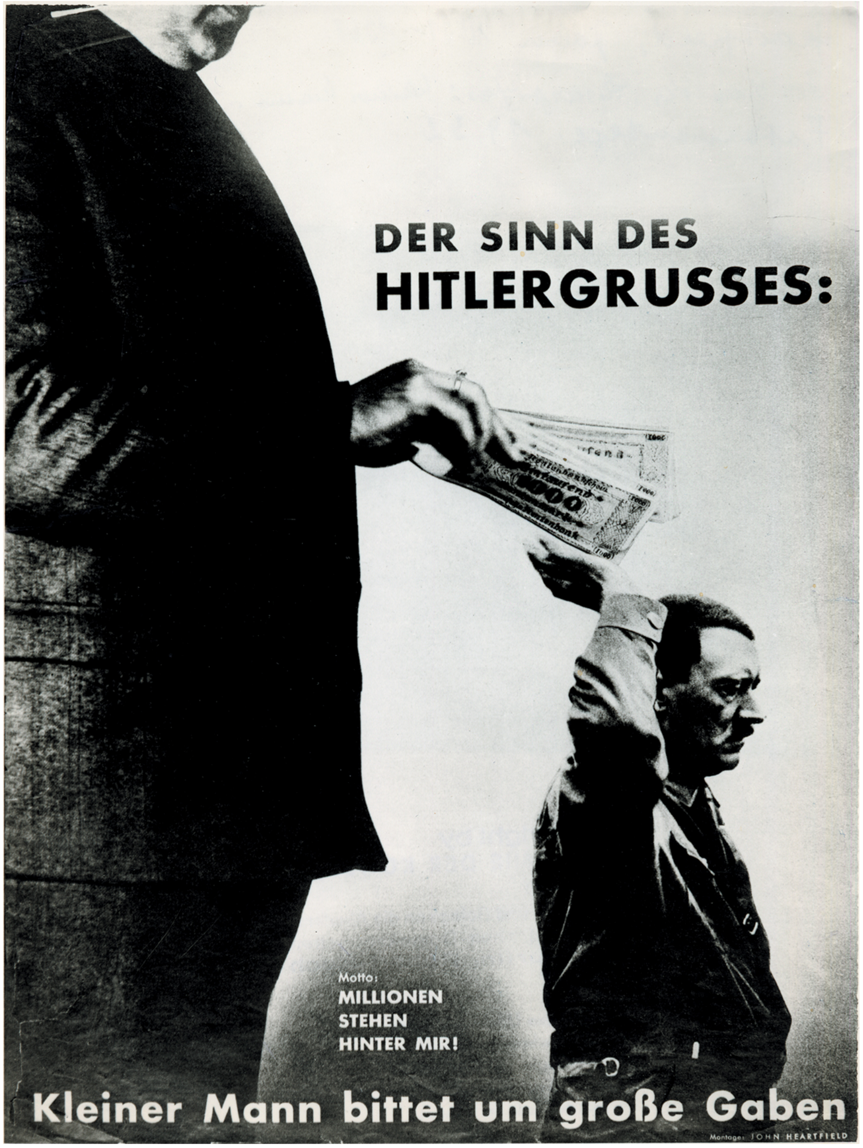
The photographs which I made for Heartfield, in accordance with an exact pencil sketch and always under his personal supervision, often took hours, many hours. He insisted upon nuances which I could no longer perceive. In the darkroom he would stand by the enlarger until the prints were ready. I was generally so tired that I could no longer stand or think…but he hurried home with the photos still damp, dried them, cut them out, and assembled them under a heavy sheet of glass. Then he would sleep for one or two

> *hours, and at eight in the morning he would be sitting with the retoucher. There he would stay for two, three, four or five hours, always fearing that the retouching would spoil it. Then the photomontage is finished, but there is not much relaxation: new tasks, new ideas. He burrows in the photo-libraries for hours, looking for a suitable photo of Hermann Müller, Hugenberg, Roehm, whoever is needed – or at least for a suitable head, for the rest can be managed. Then he turns again to the photographers, all of whom he hates, me included, because of the nuances we are unable to perceive.*[19]

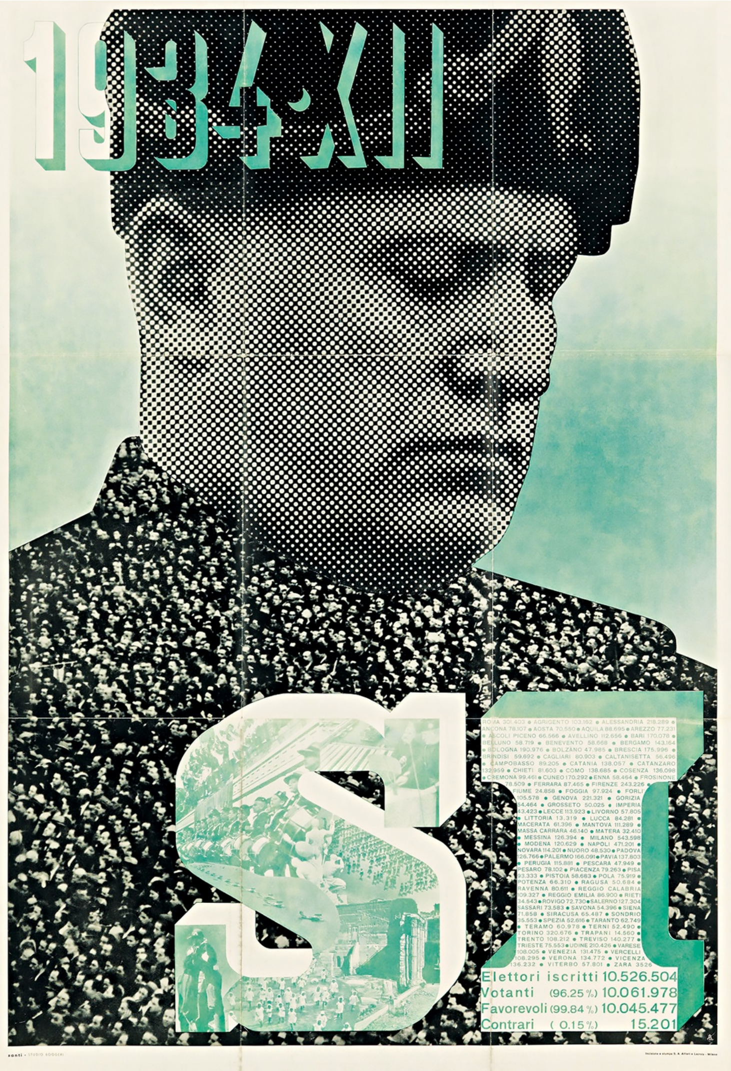
In *Adolf the Superman* (17 July 1932), the montage is so skilful, the airbrush so discreetly used, that the impression of a real figure, even down to the unnaturally puny shoulders, is perfect, and all the more successfully punctures the illusion of Hitler's rhetoric.[**55**] The speeches that were such an essential part of the Nazi programme are shown for what they really were: not just bombastic but money-fed, representing the interests of capital, not the people. He 'swallows gold and spouts junk'. This montage was enlarged and posted up all over Berlin in August 1932 with the financial help of Count Kessler, the 'Red Count'. In April of that year, Hitler had won 36.8 per cent of the presidential votes, and on 31 July the Nazi Party won the largest number of seats in the Reichstag without gaining an overall majority. The theme of rhetoric and gesture is continued in *Millions Stand Behind Me* (16 October 1932), in which Heartfield renders Hitler's salute ambiguous – from Nazi salute, intended to thrill and terrify millions, it becomes a deceitfully open, grasping hand.[**56**] An opposition is set up between the apparent and the real significance of the salute, which is demystified and deprived of its rhetorical power. The text reads: 'The meaning of the Hitler salute: a little man asks for large gifts.' By contrast, the poster made by Xanti for Mussolini in 1934 is simple rhetoric, the visualization of a political commonplace: the leader at, or as, the head of his people.[**57**] But such is the capacity for photomontage to suggest the opposite of what it intends, so narrow the dividing line between thesis and antithesis, that I think it is possible, given an uncommitted spectator, to see Mussolini as a glowering tyrant, devourer of his people. There is a similar ambiguity in an anti-Nazi Olympics poster of 1936. It is Heartfield's genius to almost never let the significance of his work be confounded in this way; with very occasional exceptions, as pointed out by Berger in his essay, it does not depend upon the prejudice of the spectator. He renders the looming soldiers of the Red Army, towering over a tiny Hitler in *The Suicide's Wish Fulfilment* (1935), ambiguous, offering threat or liberation according to one's prejudice.[58] He instances as a different kind of failure the famous snarling tiger's head that warned against the SPD, the Social Democratic Party.[60] Heartfield and the German Communists, Berger suggests, accepted an ideological direction from Moscow that condemned all social democrats, thereby losing all chance of influencing or collaborating with the nine million SPD voters and potentially blocking the Nazi advance. The additional text that accompanied the picture when it appeared in *AIZ* reads: 'Social democracy does not desire the collapse of capitalism; it seeks only a way to heal it (Fritz Tarnow, President of the Timber Workers' Union). The vets of Leipzig [the Communist Party]: "We shall of course draw the tiger's teeth, but first we must tend and strengthen him."' Though superficially effective as propaganda, *The Crisis Party Convention of the Social Democratic Party of Germany* is weak in the kind of revealed internal evidence Heartfield's best photomontages contain.[60] It also lacks the satirical force of, for example, *Herr von Papen on the Hunting Path* (11 October 1934).[62] Von Papen was German Vice-Chancellor, and in October 1934 returned from a 'hunting trip' in Hungary where he had held discussions on the possibility of the country joining the Polish-German alliance. His armband commemorates the purge on 30 June 1934 by Ernst Röhm and the Sturmabteilung (SA), in which von Papen narrowly escaped death. The irony is that he himself, as Chancellor, in 1932, had lifted the ban on the paramilitary SA in an effort to gain Nazi support in Parliament. The new words to the old popular song suggest that he may yet 'leave his skin to the bears'.


Röntgenaufnahme von JOHN HEARTFIELD
ADOLF, DER ÜBERMENSCH: Schluckt Gold und redet Blech
675

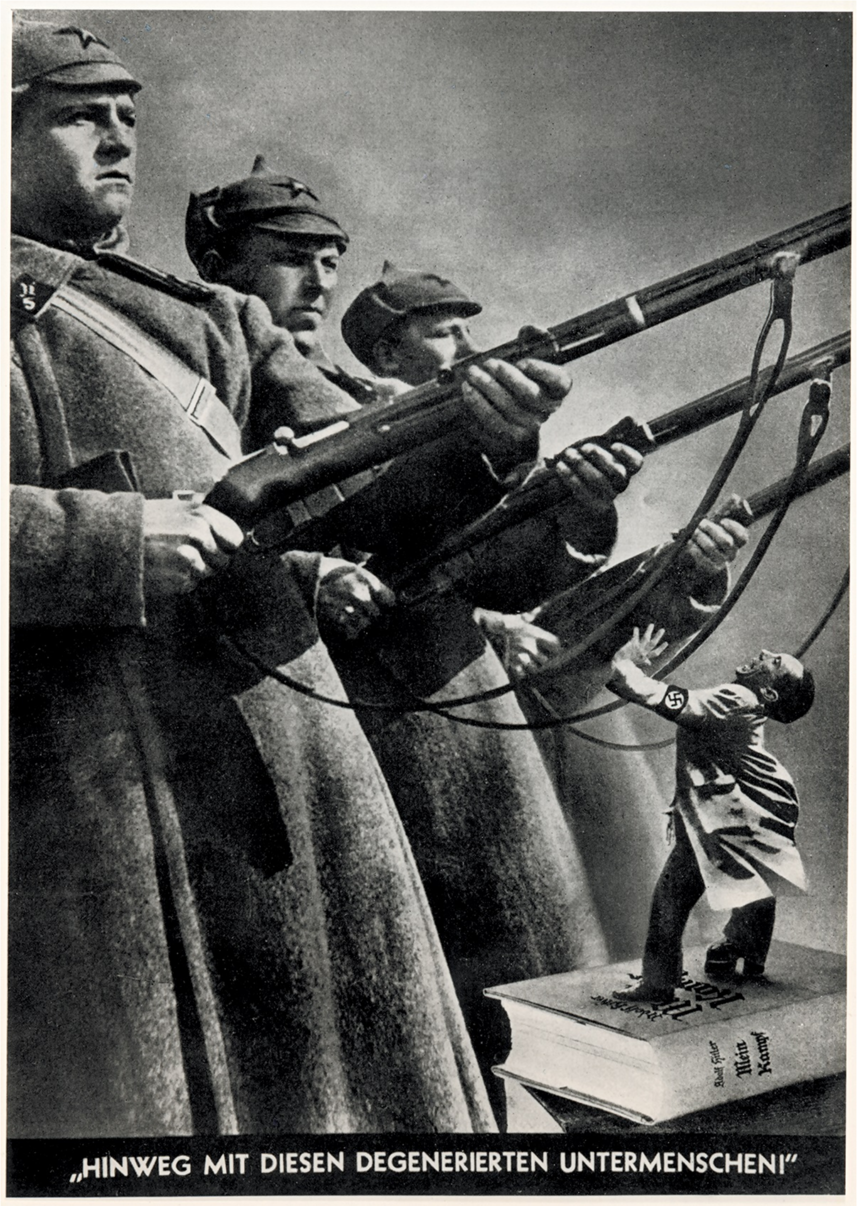
55 John Heartfield, *Adolf the Superman Swallows Gold and Spouts Junk*, 17 July 1932


DER SINN DES
HITLERGRUSSES:
Motto:
MILLIONEN
STEHEN
HINTER MIR!
Kleiner Mann bittet um große Gaben
Montage: JOHN HEARTFIELD

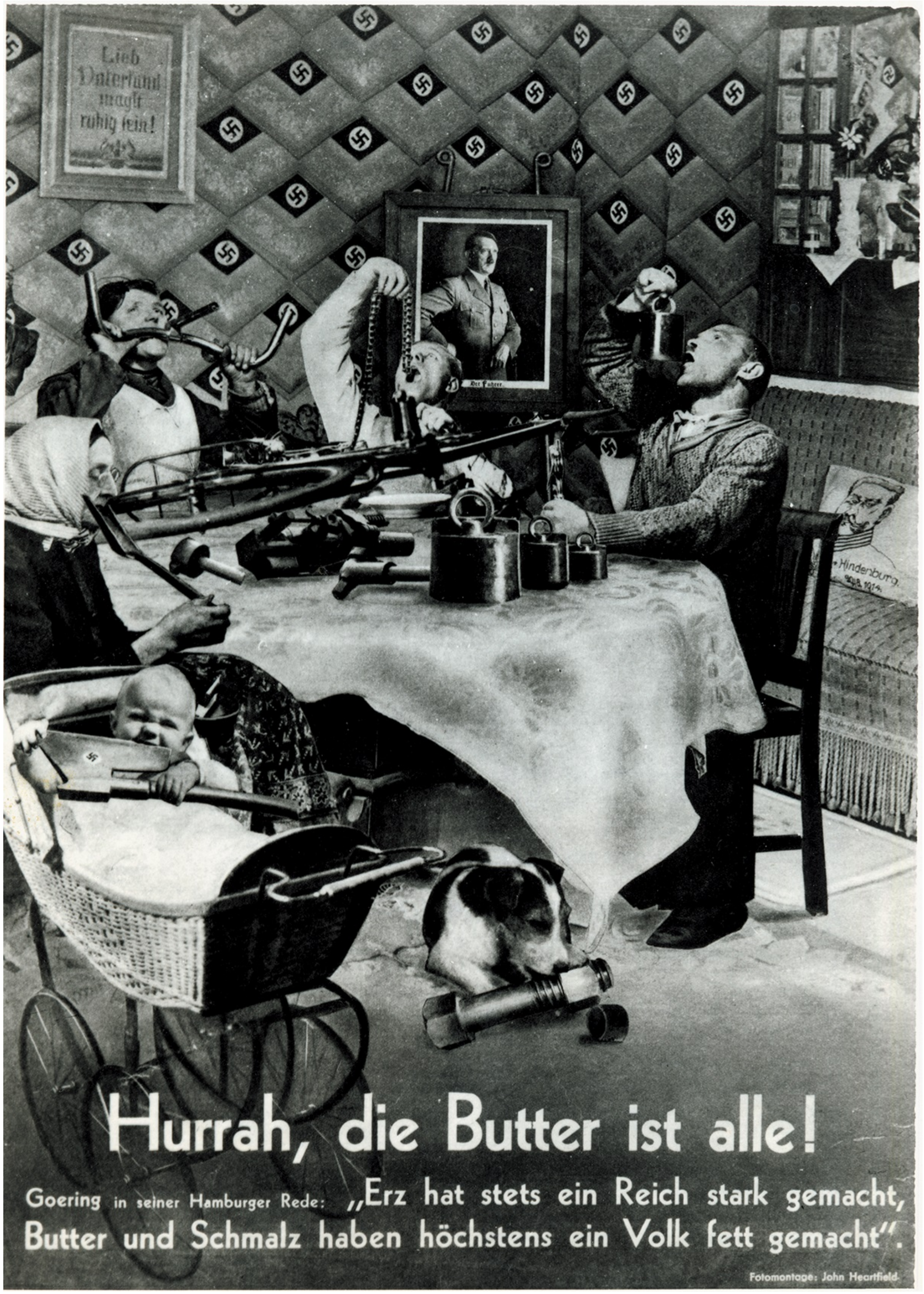
56 John Heartfield, *Millions Stand Behind Me*, 16 October 1932


1934-XII
SI
ROMA 301.403 ● AGRIGENTO 103.162 ● ALESSANDRIA 218.289 ●
ANCONA 78.107 ● AOSTA 70.550 ● AQUILA 88.695 ● AREZZO 77.231
● ASCOLI PICENO 66.566 ● AVELLINO 112.656 ● BARI 170.078 ●
BELLUNO 58.719 ● BENEVENTO 58.668 ● BERGAMO 143.164
● BOLOGNA 190.976 ● BOLZANO 47.985 ● BRESCIA 175.996 ●
BRINDISI 59.692 ● CAGLIARI 80.903 ● CALTANISETTA 56.496
● CAMPOBASSO 89.205 ● CATANIA 138.057 ● CATANZARO
132.959 ● CHIETI 81.603 ● COMO 138.685 ● COSENZA 136.098
● CREMONA 99.461 ● CUNEO 170.292 ● ENNA 58.464 ● FROSINONE
78.509 ● FERRARA 87.465 ● FIRENZE 243.226 ●
FIUME 24.858 ● FOGGIA 97.924 ● FORLI'
105.578 ● GENOVA 221.321 ● GORIZIA
54.464 ● GROSSETO 50.025 ● IMPERIA
43.423 ● LECCE 113.923 ● LIVORNO 57.805
● LITTORIA 13.319 ● LUCCA 84.281 ●
MACERATA 61.396 ● MANTOVA 111.289 ●
MASSA CARRARA 46.140 ● MATERA 32.410
● MESSINA 126.394 ● MILANO 543.598
● MODENA 120.629 ● NAPOLI 471.201 ●
NOVARA 114.201 ● NUORO 48.530 ● PADOVA
126.766 ● PALERMO 166.091 ● PAVIA 137.803
● PERUGIA 115.881 ● PESCARA 47.949 ●
PESARO 78.102 ● PIACENZA 79.263 ● PISA
93.333 ● PISTOIA 58.683 ● POLA 75.919 ●
POTENZA 66.310 ● RAGUSA 50.684 ●
RAVENNA 80.611 ● REGGIO CALABRIA
109.327 ● REGGIO EMILIA 86.900 ● RIETI
34.543 ● ROVIGO 72.730 ● SALERNO 127.304
SASSARI 73.583 ● SAVONA 54.396 ● SIENA
71.858 ● SIRACUSA 65.487 ● SONDRIO
35.553 ● SPEZIA 52.616 ● TARANTO 62.749
● TERAMO 60.978 ● TERNI 52.490 ●
TORINO 320.676 ● TRAPANI 14.560 ●
TRENTO 108.212 ● TREVISO 140.277 ●
TRIESTE 75.553 ● UDINE 210.426 ● VARESE
108.005 ● VENEZIA 131.475 ● VERCELLI
108.295 ● VERONA 134.772 ● VICENZA
136.232 ● VITERBO 57.801 ● ZARA 3526
Elettori iscritti 10.526.504
Votanti (96.25 %) 10.061.978
Favorevoli (99.84 %) 10.045.477
Contrari (0.15 %) 15.201
xanti · STUDIO BOGGERI
Incisione e stampa S. A. Alfieri e Lacroix - Milano

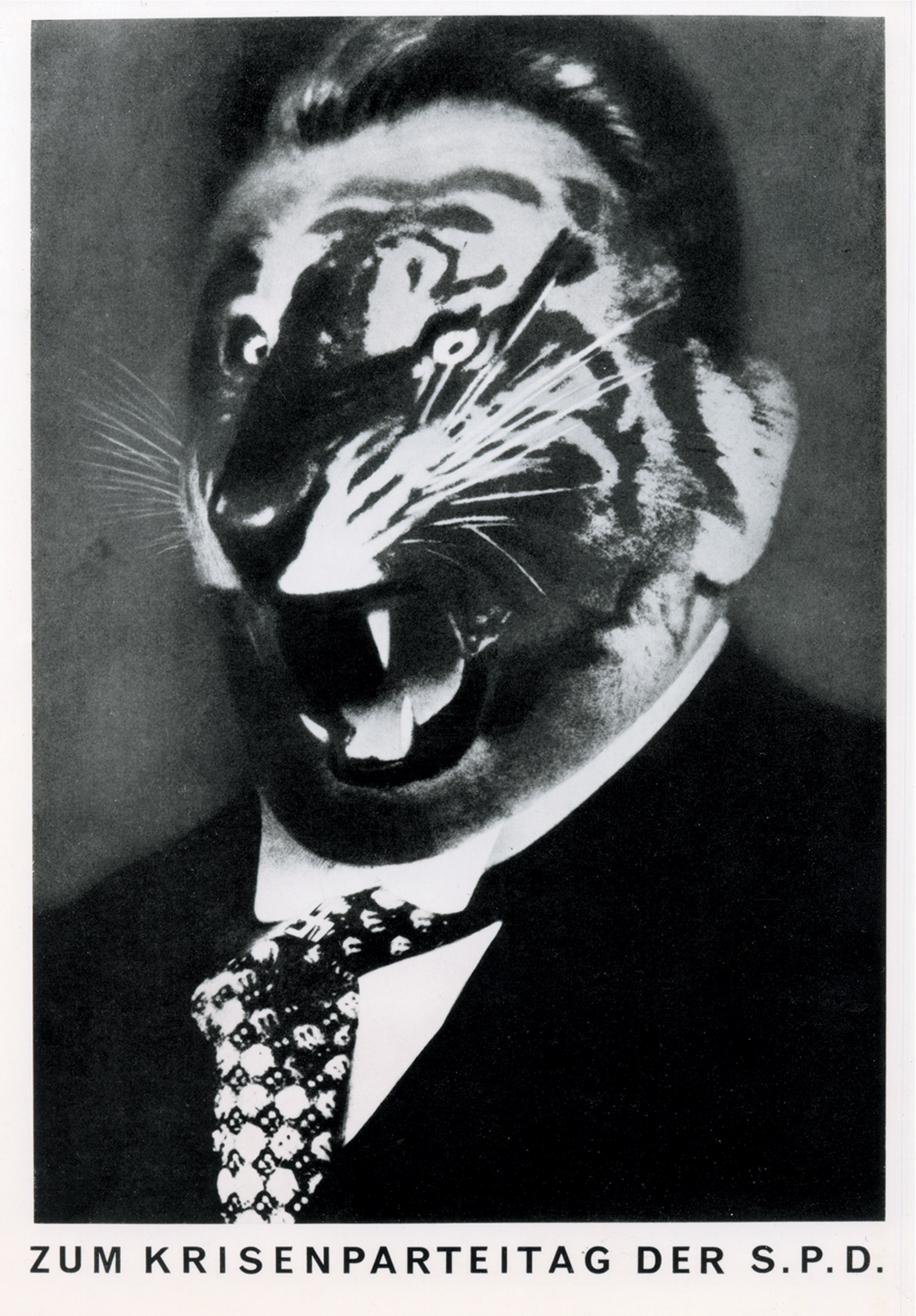
57 Xanti, *Mussolini*, 1934


„HINWEG MIT DIESEN DEGENERIERTEN UNTERMENSCHEN!"
Adolf Hitler
Mein Kampf

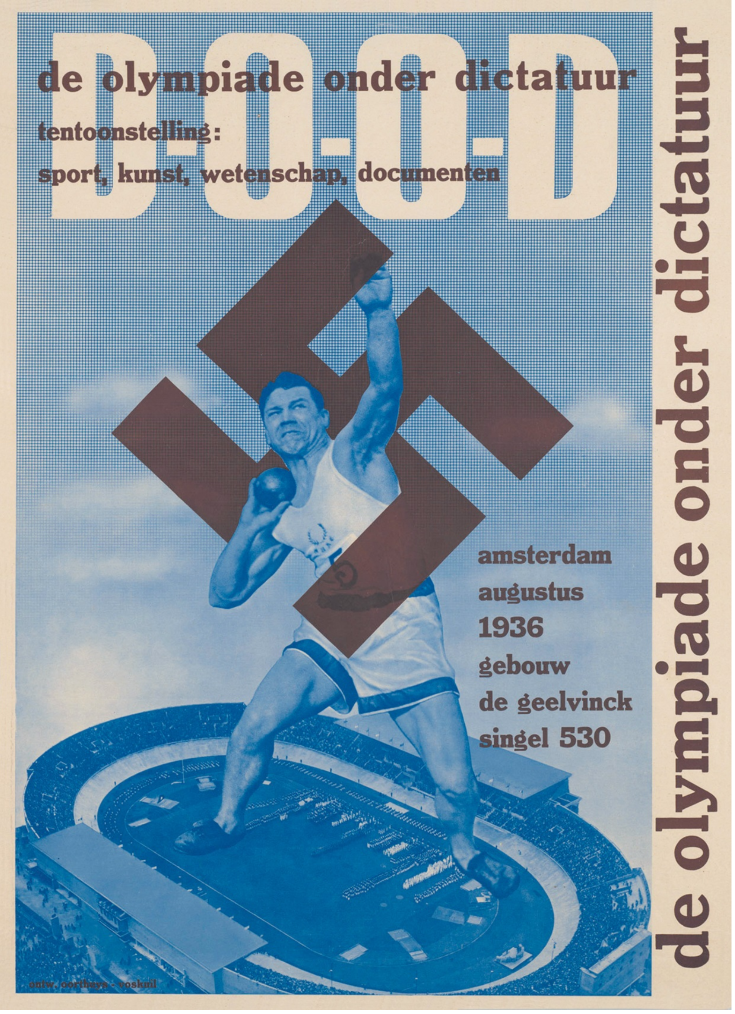
58 John Heartfield, *The Suicide's Wish Fulfilment*, 26 September 1935


Lieb Vaterland magst ruhig sein!
Der Führer
Hindenburg 1914
Hurrah, die Butter ist alle!
Goering in seiner Hamburger Rede: „Erz hat stets ein Reich stark gemacht, Butter und Schmalz haben höchstens ein Volk fett gemacht".
Fotomontage: John Heartfield

59 John Heartfield, *Hurrah, the Butter is Finished!*, 19 December 1935


ZUM KRISENPARTEITAG DER S.P.D.

60 John Heartfield, *The Crisis Party Convention of the Social Democratic Party of Germany*, 15 June 1931

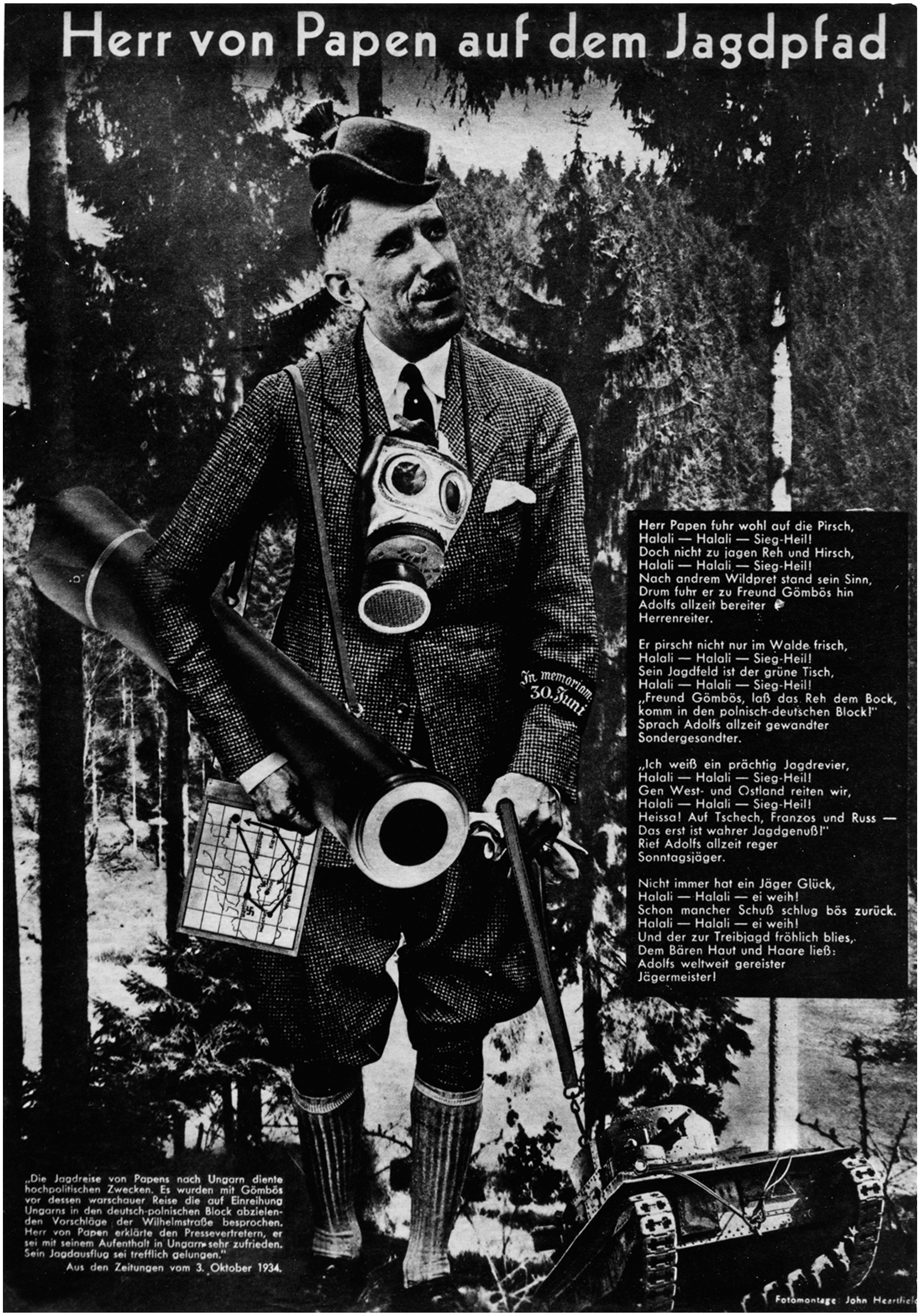

D-O-O-D
de olympiade onder dictatuur
tentoonstelling:
sport, kunst, wetenschap, documenten
amsterdam
augustus
1936
gebouw
de geelvinck
singel 530
de olympiade onder dictatuur
ontw. oorthuys - voskuil

61 Cas Oorthuys and J. J. Voskull, poster for the exhibition on ‘The Olympic Games under Dictatorship’, 1936

As Lukács said, a good photomontage has the effect of a good joke. Many of Heartfield’s best jokes – which in being funny lose none of their savagery – involve a literal translation of Nazi rhetoric. So, in *Hurrah, the Butter is Finished!* (19 December 1935), the text at the bottom gives a quotation from a speech by Goering: ‘Goering (in his Hamburg speech): “Iron always makes a country strong, butter and lard only make people fat.”’[59] So Heartfield shows a family chewing obligingly on iron, while in the background photographs of Hitler are employed as decorative wallpaper.

Heartfield participated actively in the Spanish Republican government’s struggle against the Franco-led rebels, and his influence is also seen in posters produced for them. Josep Renau, like Heartfield a member of the

Communist Party, produced pro-Republican posters during the Civil War and made photo-murals for the Spanish Pavilion at the 1937 International Fair in Paris, where Picasso’s *Guernica* was exhibited.[**65**] In a pamphlet issued by the Communist Party in Barcelona, however, the influence of El Lissitzky is more evident.[**66**, **73**] This pamphlet listed eight conditions for winning the war, and emphasized the need for strong governmental authority, conscription, discipline, unity, increased production and the co-ordination of industrial and agricultural production. Heartfield’s own *Liberty Fights in Their Ranks* (after Delacroix) (19 August 1936, issued during the Spanish Civil War) adds cuttings from press photographs of the defence of Republican-held Madrid to Delacroix’s painting of the Paris barricades in 1830, *Liberty Guiding the People*.[**113**]



Herr Papen fuhr wohl auf die Pirsch,
Halali — Halali — Sieg-Heil!
Doch nicht zu jagen Reh und Hirsch,
Halali — Halali — Sieg-Heil!
Nach andrem Wildpret stand sein Sinn,
Drum fuhr er zu Freund Gömbös hin
Adolfs allzeit bereiter
Herrenreiter.

Er pirscht nicht nur im Walde frisch,
Halali — Halali — Sieg-Heil!
Sein Jagdfeld ist der grüne Tisch,
Halali — Halali — Sieg-Heil!
„Freund Gömbös, laß das Reh dem Bock,
komm in den polnisch-deutschen Block!"
Sprach Adolfs allzeit gewandter
Sondergesandter.

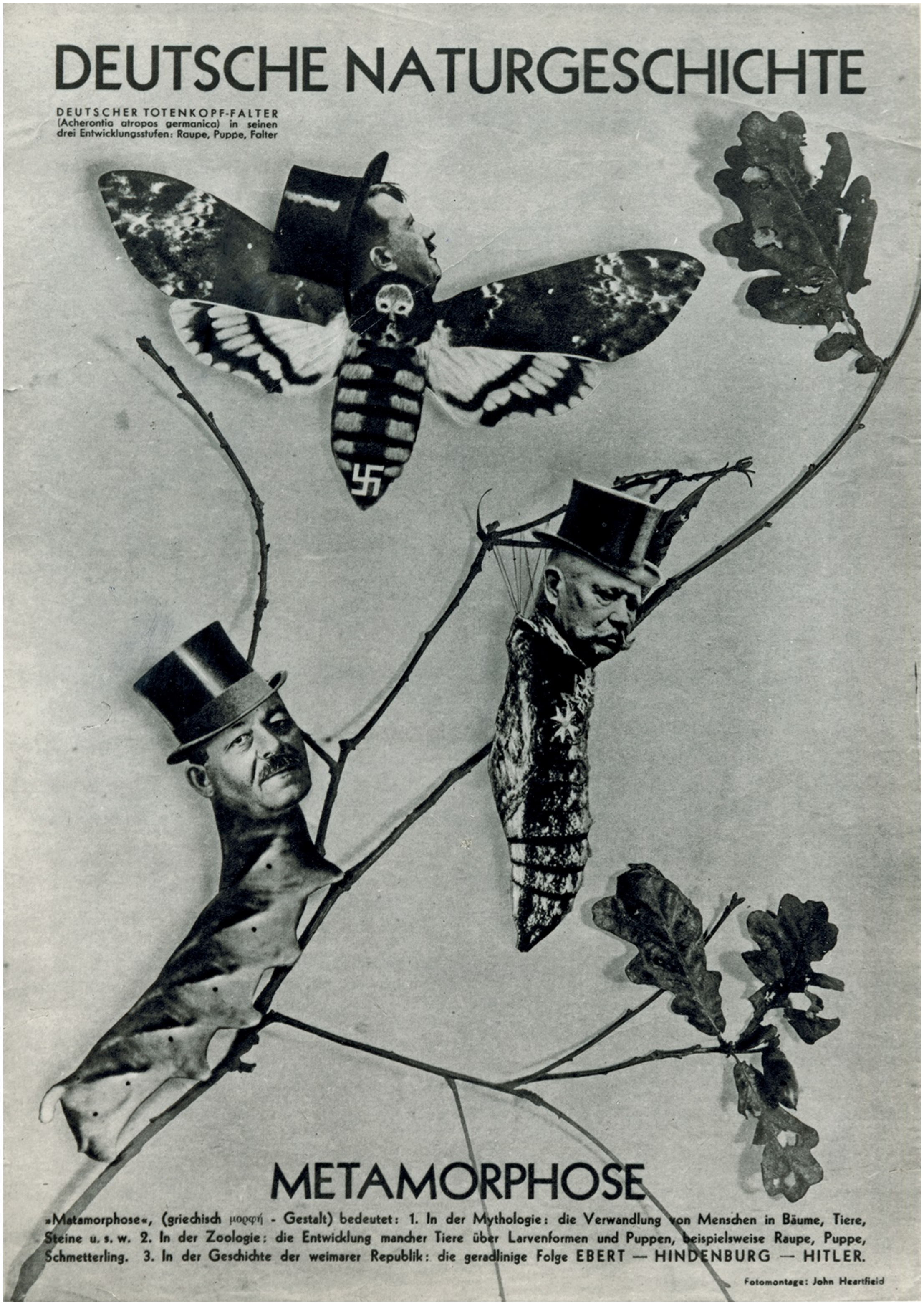
„Ich weiß ein prächtig Jagdrevier,
Halali — Halali — Sieg-Heil!
Gen West- und Ostland reiten wir,
Halali — Halali — Sieg-Heil!
Heissa! Auf Tschech, Franzos und Russ —
Das erst ist wahrer Jagdgenuß!"
Rief Adolfs allzeit reger
Sonntagsjäger.

Nicht immer hat ein Jäger Glück,
Halali — Halali — ei weih!
Schon mancher Schuß schlug bös zurück.
Halali — Halali — ei weih!
Und der zur Treibjagd fröhlich blies,
Dem Bären Haut und Haare ließ:
Adolfs weltweit gereister
Jägermeister!

„Die Jagdreise von Papens nach Ungarn diente hochpolitischen Zwecken. Es wurden mit Gömbös vor dessen warschauer Reise die auf Einreihung Ungarns in den deutsch-polnischen Block abzielenden Vorschläge der Wilhelmstraße besprochen. Herr von Papen erklärte den Pressevertretern, er sei mit seinem Aufenthalt in Ungarn sehr zufrieden. Sein Jagdausflug sei trefflich gelungen."

Aus den Zeitungen vom 3. Oktober 1934.

62 John Heartfield, *Herr von Papen on the Hunting Path*, 11 October 1934



DEUTSCHE NATURGESCHICHTE

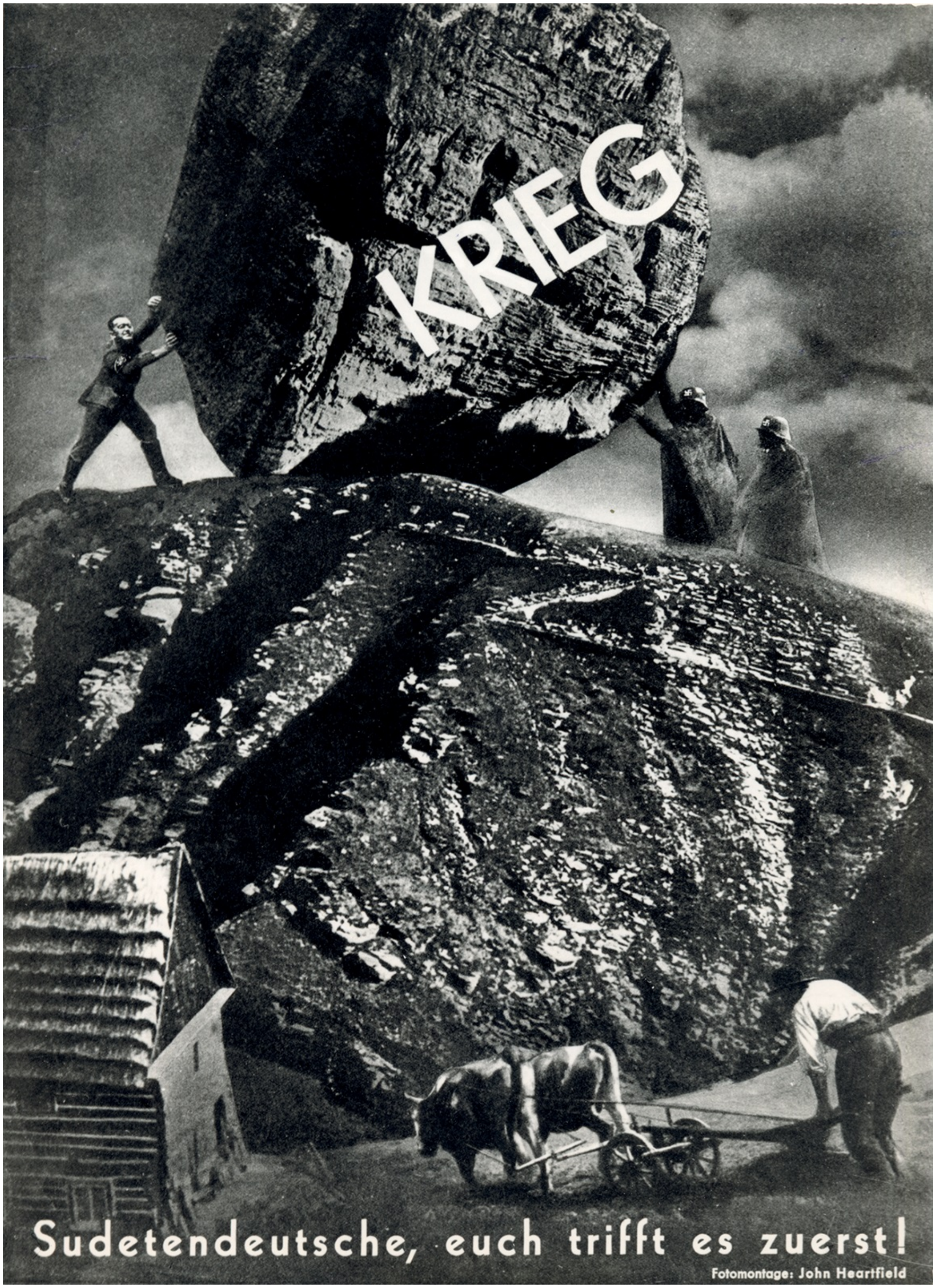
DEUTSCHER TOTENKOPF-FALTER
(Acherontia atropos germanica) in seinen
drei Entwicklungsstufen: Raupe, Puppe, Falter

METAMORPHOSE

»Metamorphose«, (griechisch μορφή - Gestalt) bedeutet: 1. In der Mythologie: die Verwandlung von Menschen in Bäume, Tiere, Steine u. s. w. 2. In der Zoologie: die Entwicklung mancher Tiere über Larvenformen und Puppen, beispielsweise Raupe, Puppe, Schmetterling. 3. In der Geschichte der weimarer Republik: die geradlinige Folge EBERT — HINDENBURG — HITLER.

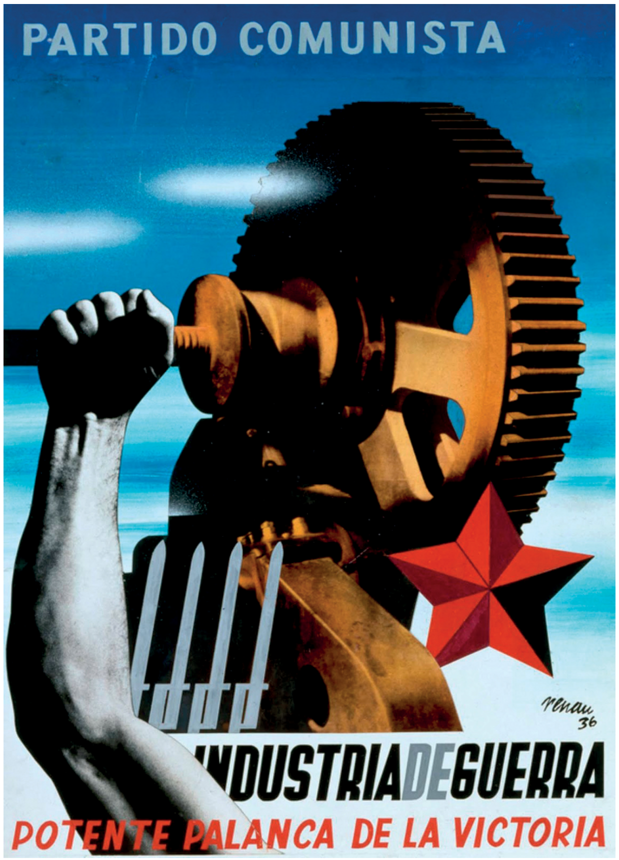
Fotomontage: John Heartfield

63 In this piece, originally captioned *German Natural History: Metamorphosis* in *AIZ*, 16 August 1934, John Heartfield suggests that the Weimar caterpillar Ebert finally hatched into the Death’s Head Moth, Hitler.

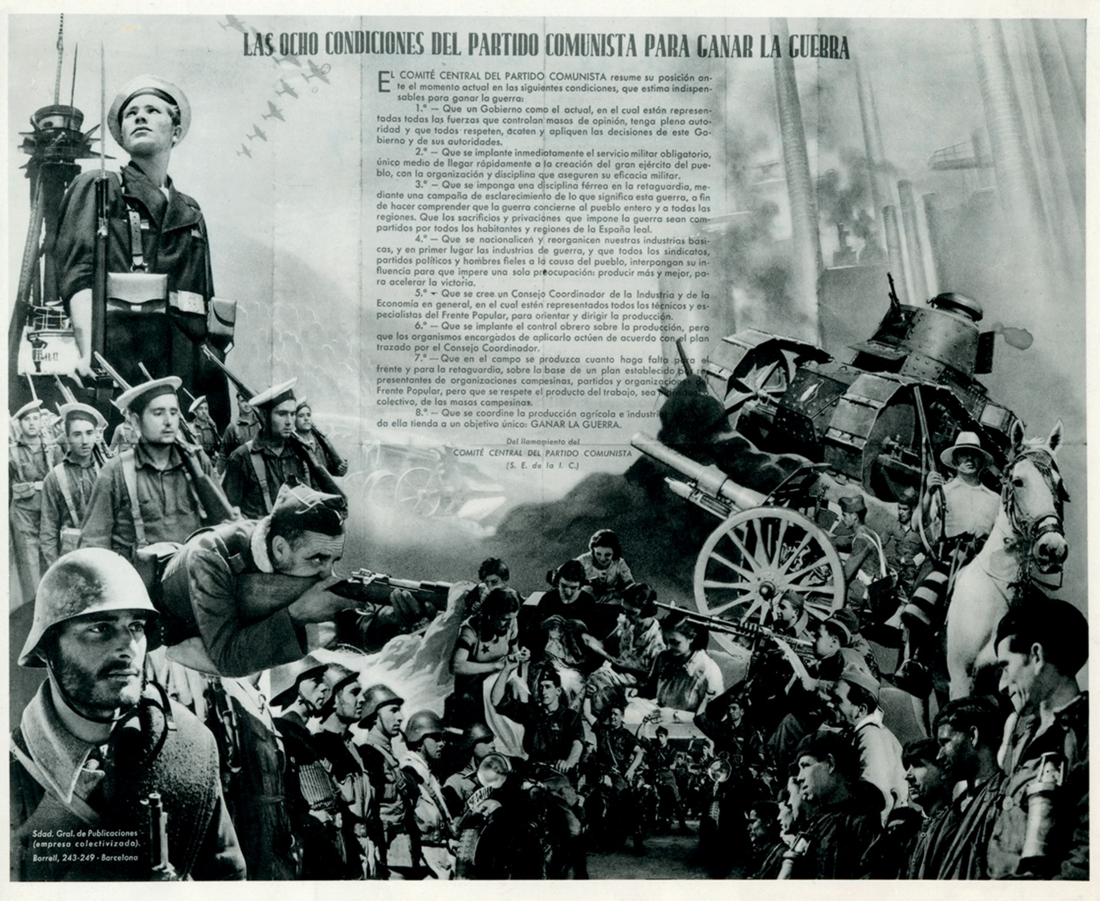


KRIEG
Sudetendeutsche, euch trifft es zuerst!
Fotomontage: John Heartfield

64 John Heartfield, *WAR: Sudeten Germans, you'll be the first!*, 13 September 1938


PARTIDO COMUNISTA
renau 36
INDUSTRIA DE GUERRA
POTENTE PALANCA DE LA VICTORIA

65 Josep Renau, *Industria de guerra, potente palanca de la victoria* (*War Industry, Powerful Lever of Victory*). Poster, Spanish Civil War, *c*. 1937



LAS OCHO CONDICIONES DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA PARA GANAR LA GUERRA

EL COMITÉ CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA resume su posición ante el momento actual en las siguientes condiciones, que estima indispensables para ganar la guerra:

1.° — Que un Gobierno como el actual, en el cual están representadas todas las fuerzas que controlan masas de opinión, tenga pleno autoridad y que todos respeten, acaten y apliquen las decisiones de este Gobierno y de sus autoridades.

2.° — Que se implante inmediatamente el servicio militar obligatorio, único medio de llegar rápidamente a la creación del gran ejército del pueblo, con la organización y disciplina que aseguren su eficacia militar.

3.° — Que se imponga una disciplina férrea en la retaguardia, mediante una campaña de esclarecimiento de lo que significa esta guerra, a fin de hacer comprender que la guerra concierne al pueblo entero y a todas las regiones. Que los sacrificios y privaciones que impone la guerra sean compartidos por todos los habitantes y regiones de la España leal.

4.° — Que se nacionalicen y reorganicen nuestras industrias básicas, y en primer lugar las industrias de guerra, y que todos los sindicatos, partidos políticos y hombres fieles a la causa del pueblo, interpongan su influencia para que impere una sola preocupación: producir más y mejor, para acelerar la victoria.

5.° — Que se cree un Consejo Coordinador de la Industria y de la Economía en general, en el cual estén representados todos los técnicos y especialistas del Frente Popular, para orientar y dirigir la producción.

6.° — Que se implante el control obrero sobre la producción, pero que los organismos encargados de aplicarlo actúen de acuerdo con el plan trazado por el Consejo Coordinador.

7.° — Que en el campo se produzca cuanto haga falta para el frente y para la retaguardia, sobre la base de un plan establecido por representantes de organizaciones campesinas, partidos y organizaciones del Frente Popular, pero que se respete el producto del trabajo, sea individual o colectivo, de las masas campesinas.

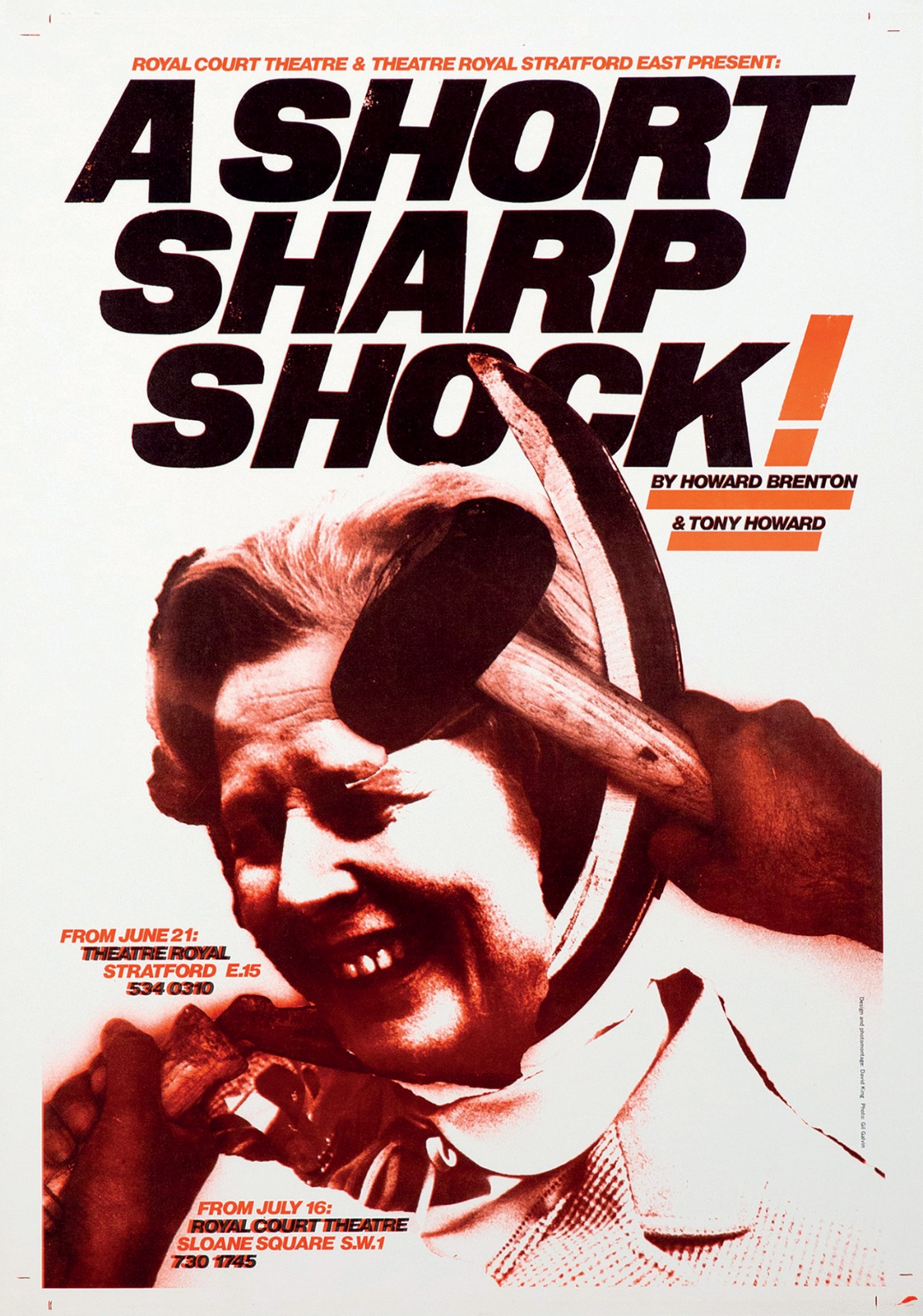
8.° — Que se coordine la producción agrícola e industri da ella tienda a un objetivo único: GANAR LA GUERRA.

Del llamamiento del
COMITÉ CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA
(S. E. de la I. C.)

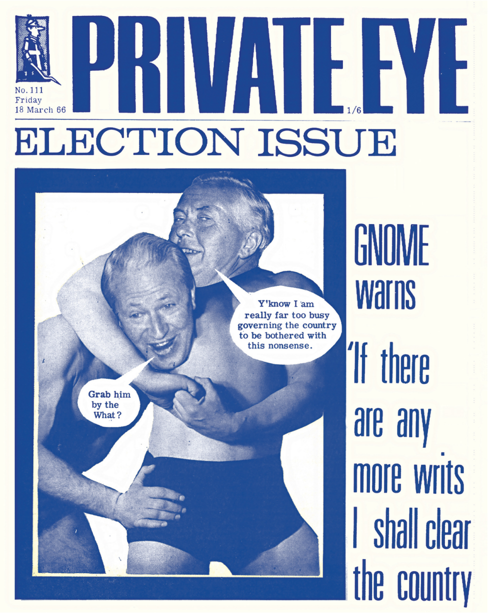
Sdad. Gral. de Publicaciones
(empresa colectivizada).
Borrell, 243-249 · Barcelona

66 Manifesto of the Spanish Communist Party in Barcelona

Although Heartfield's influence has not been confined to the field of political photomontage, it is certainly strongest there. It is present in, for example, David King's anti-Thatcher posters, in Peter Kennard's anti-nuclear posters, such as the photomontage using Constable's *Haywain*.[**67**, **70**, **71**] The covers of the satirical magazine *Private Eye* also often combine text and photographs, and frequently use composites that are not always recognizable as such.[**68**] They are 'in the German tradition', as one of the artists involved says; but their political satire has targets like humbug, pretension and dishonesty, treated as local and comic, rather than revealing a political system.

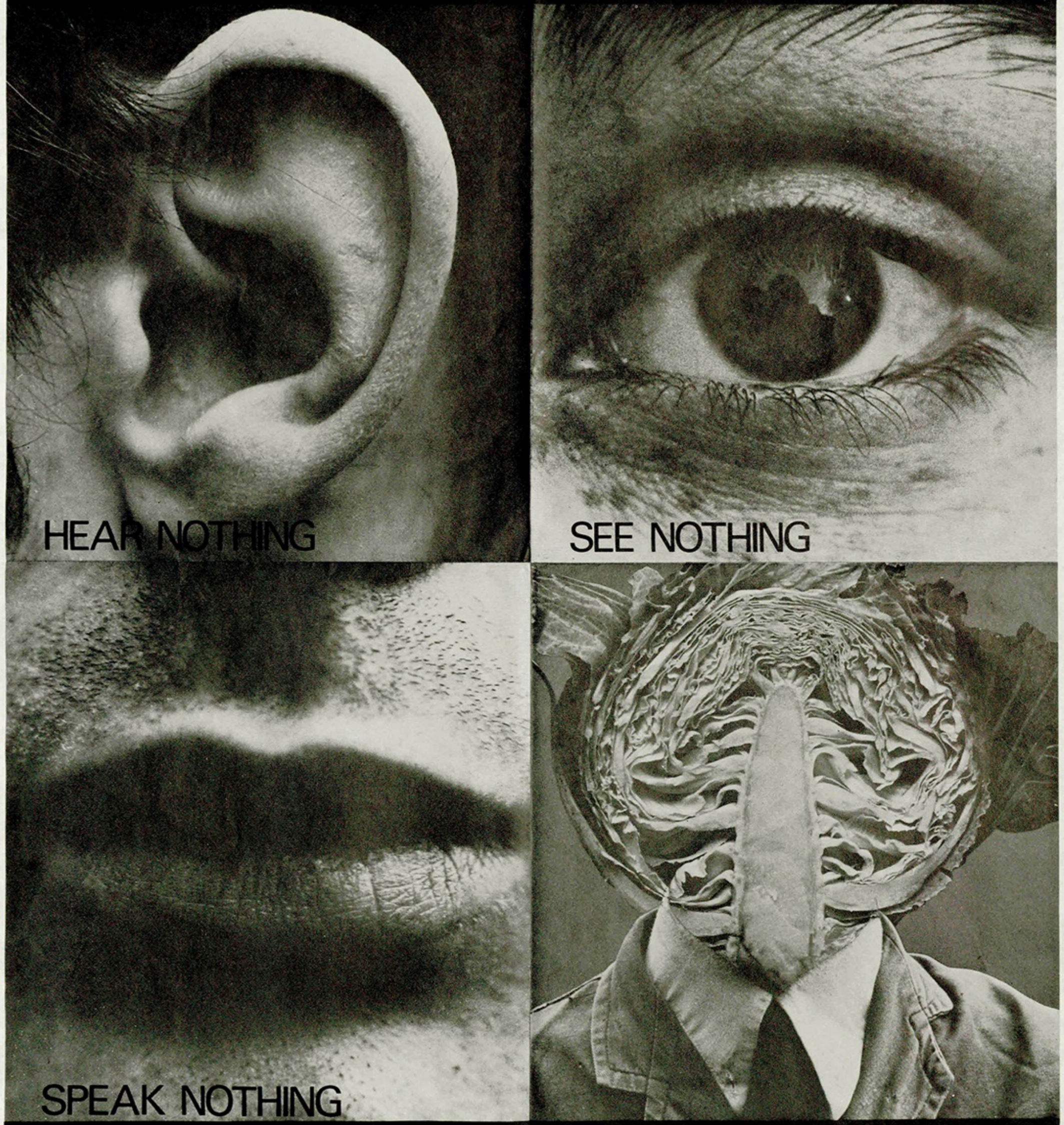

ROYAL COURT THEATRE & THEATRE ROYAL STRATFORD EAST PRESENT:
A SHORT SHARP SHOCK!
BY HOWARD BRENTON
& TONY HOWARD
FROM JUNE 21:
THEATRE ROYAL
STRATFORD E.15
534 0310
FROM JULY 16:
ROYAL COURT THEATRE
SLOANE SQUARE S.W.1
730 1745
Design and photomontage: David King Photo: Gil Galvin

67 David King, *A Short Sharp Shock*, 1980


PRIVATE EYE
No. 111
Friday
18 March 66
1/6
ELECTION ISSUE
Y'know I am really far too busy governing the country to be bothered with this nonsense.
Grab him by the What?
GNOME warns 'If there are any more writs I shall clear the country

68 Montage for *Private Eye*, March 1966

CONTROL



CONTROL: restrain; regulate; authority; means taken to validate experimental results.

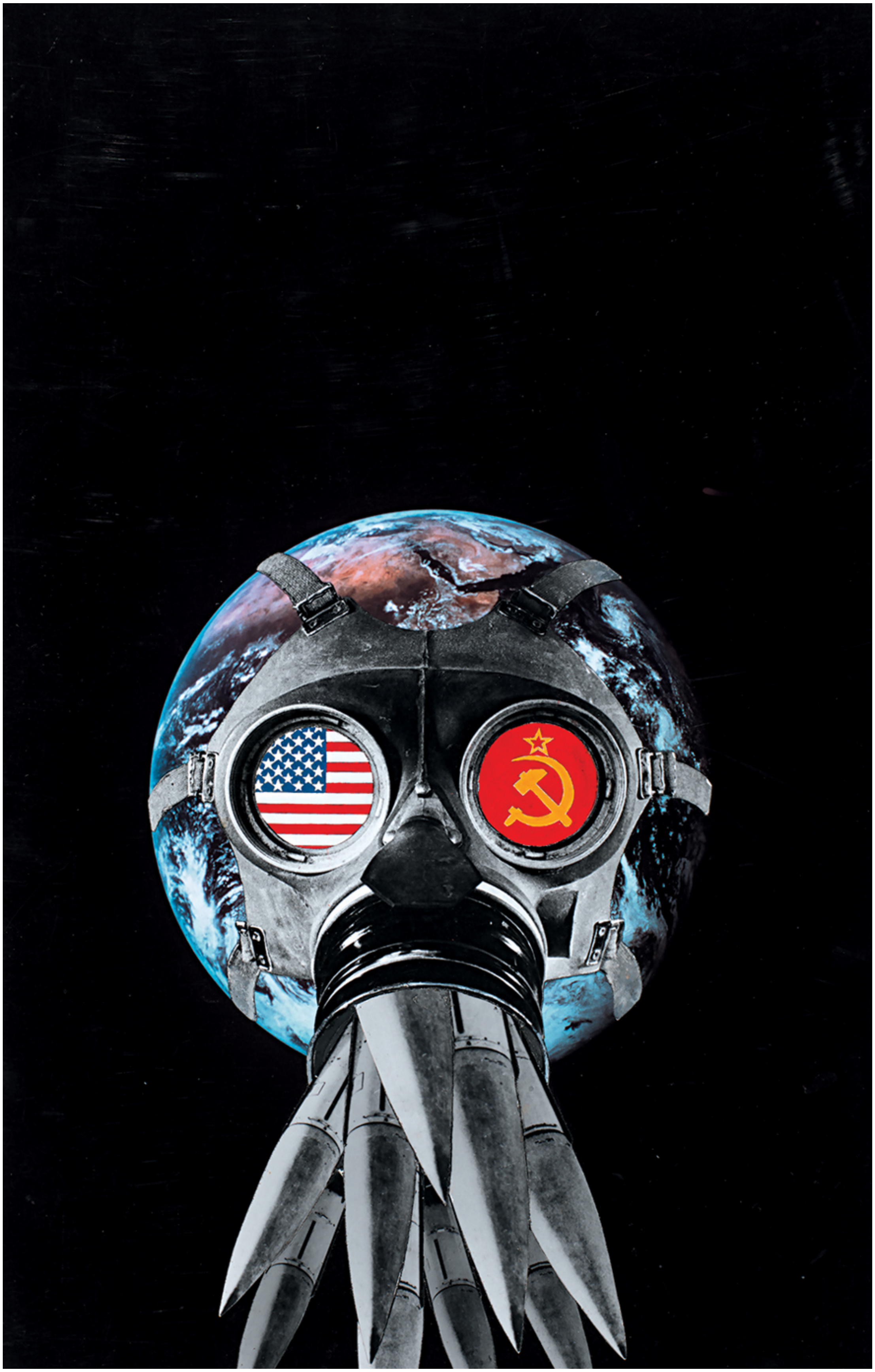
UNIT: a group of things or persons forming a whole. quantity or dimension as a standard of measurement.

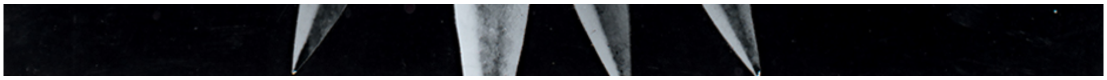
wormwood scrubs and wakefield prisons have control units. prisoners in these units are subjected to six months total sensory deprivation. results from experiments on prisoners will be adopted as standard measurements with which the authorities will be able to restrain and regulate the group of things or persons forming the whole of society.

THEY MUST BE STOPPED.

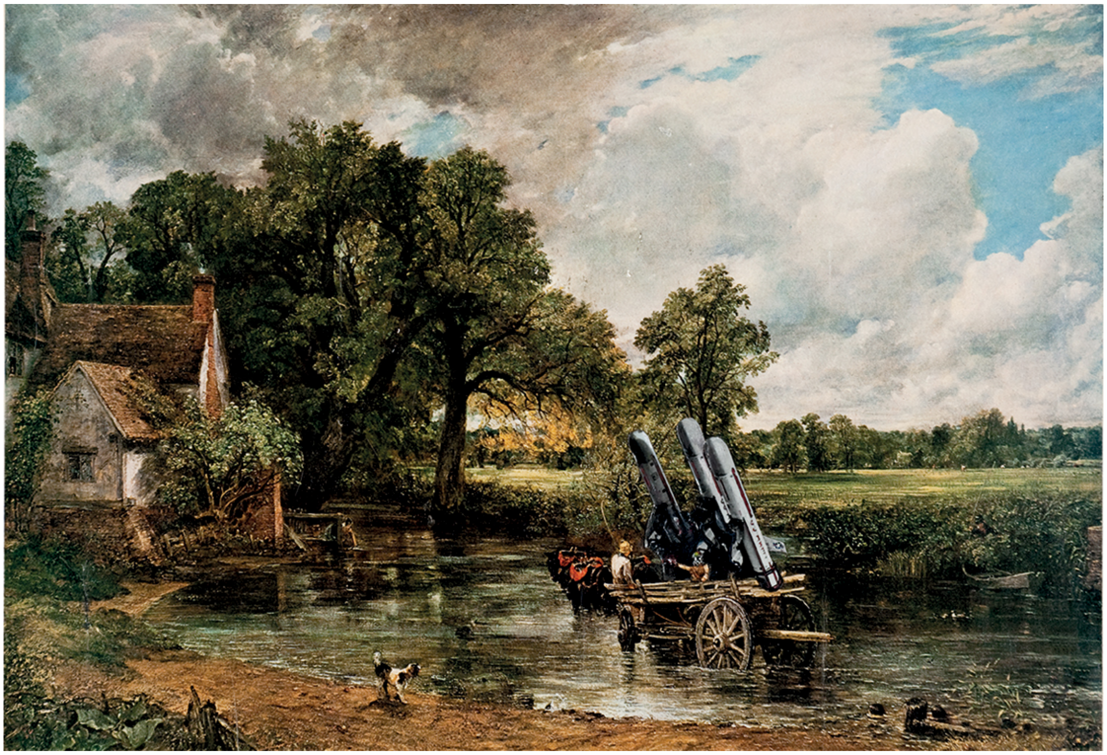
printed by SW Litho Printers London E2

69 Red Dragon Print Collective, one of a set of three posters (1975) for RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison)

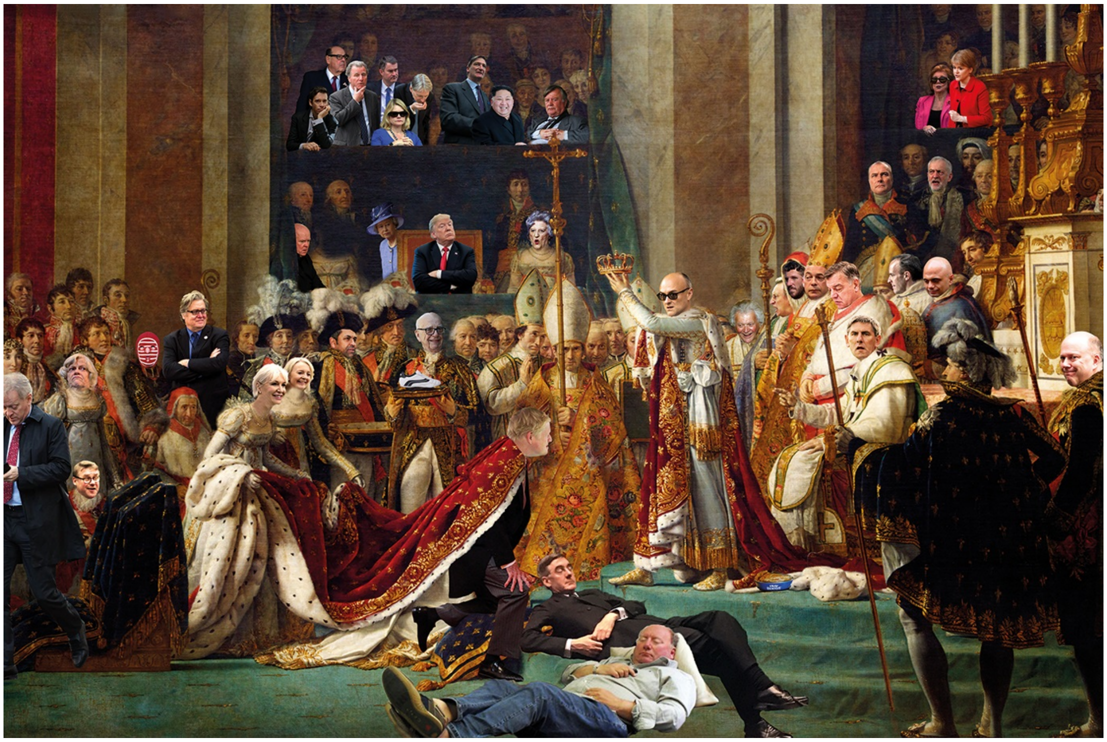




70 Peter Kennard, *Defended to Death*, 1982



71 Peter Kennard, *Haywain with Cruise Missiles*, 1983



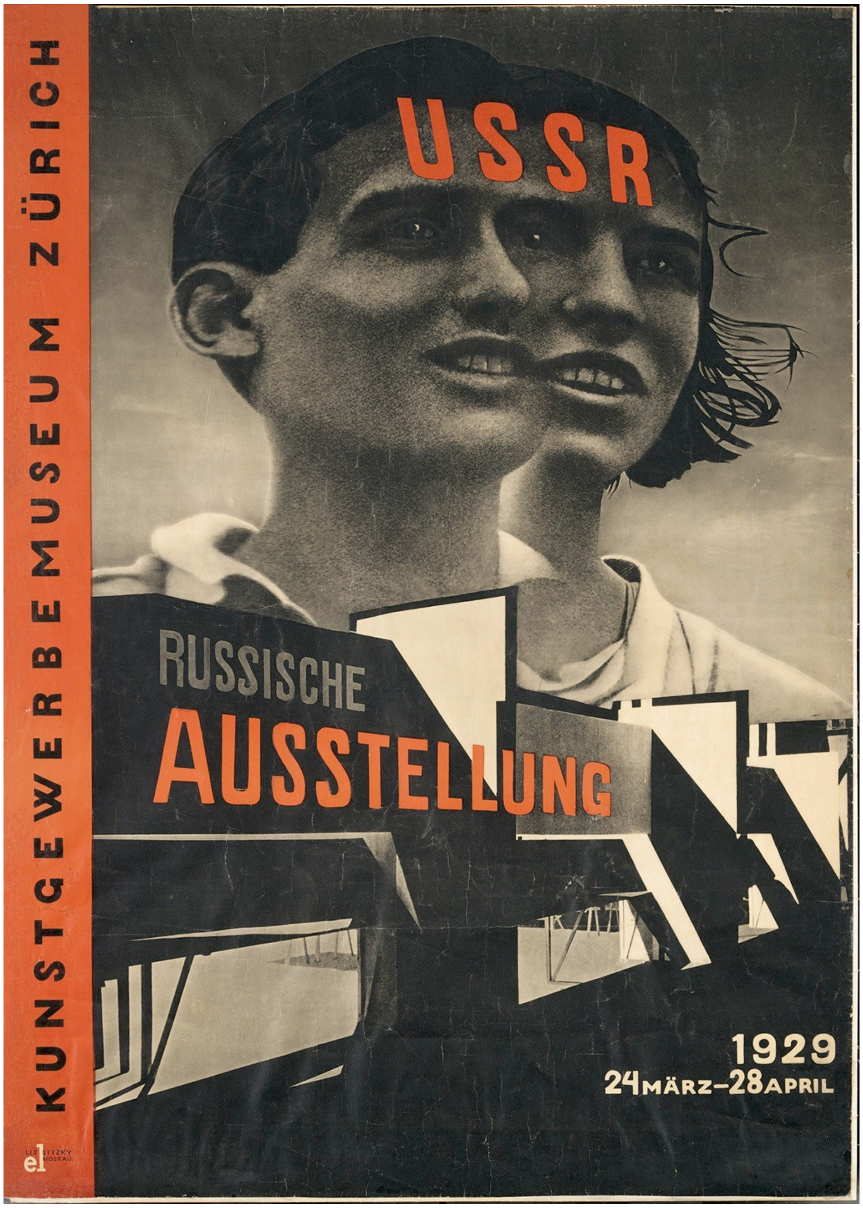
72 Cold War Steve (Christopher Spencer), *Harold, The Ghost of Lost Futures*, 2019
Jacques-Louis David's monumental painting, *The Coronation of the Emperor Napoleon and the Crowning of the Empress Josephine in Notre-Dame Cathedral on December 2, 1804* (1806-1807) depicted the moment Napoleon took the crown from the Pope in order to crown Josephine himself. Here, the heads of the protagonists and crowd have been replaced by members of Britain's Tory Government and other contemporary figures, with Prime Minister Boris Johnson's then-advisor Dominic Cummings taking the place of Napoleon.

Many contemporary examples of photomontage could be cited. In 1975, Red Dragon Print Collective, for instance, produced a set of three posters in 1975 for RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison) to protest against the setting up of control units in certain British prisons. In this one, the lower right-hand picture is reminiscent of Heartfield's photomontage *Whoever Reads Bourgeois Newspapers Becomes Blind and Deaf* (1930), in which a head is substituted by a newspaper, accompanied by a poem that begins 'I am a cabbage-head....'[69]

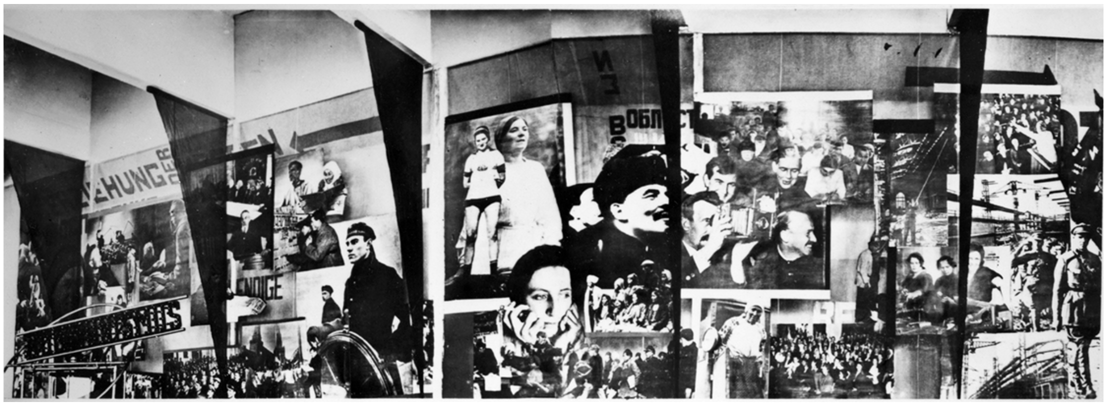
Propaganda, Publicity and Constructivism

The role of art in shaping and reorganizing rather than reflecting public consciousness was promoted very early in the Russian Revolution. Visual propaganda was obviously a direct and successful way of achieving the mammoth task of educating, informing and persuading the people, and was particularly effective in a country whose population was neither fully literate nor united by a single language. The agit-prop trains and propaganda boats of 1919 and 1920, which went all over the country, were covered with paintings – bold but predominantly traditional in style – and slogans. Photomontage naturally took over part of this task; as El Lissitzky said, ‘No kind of representation is as completely comprehensible to all people as photography.’[**73**] Confidence in the accessibility of photomontage in fact minimized the need for texts. It is interesting to compare the agit-prop paintings with their direct descendants, the street posters and the great montage friezes made for exhibitions, such as El Lissitzky’s *The Task of the Press is the Education of the Masses* from the Soviet section of the International Press Exhibition held in Cologne in 1928.[**74**] While the posters rely on satire and opposition to make their political point, the photographic friezes celebrate and exhort, showing the great work of construction that is under way, the technological advances and the growth of Russian industry – actual and visible progress witnessed through photographs. Gustav Klucis’s statement ‘Photomontage as a new kind of art of agitation’ was published in Moscow in 1931, and was printed in the catalogue of the photomontage exhibition in Berlin in the same year. Klucis emphasized the connections between photomontage and both revolutionary politics and industrial and technological progress:

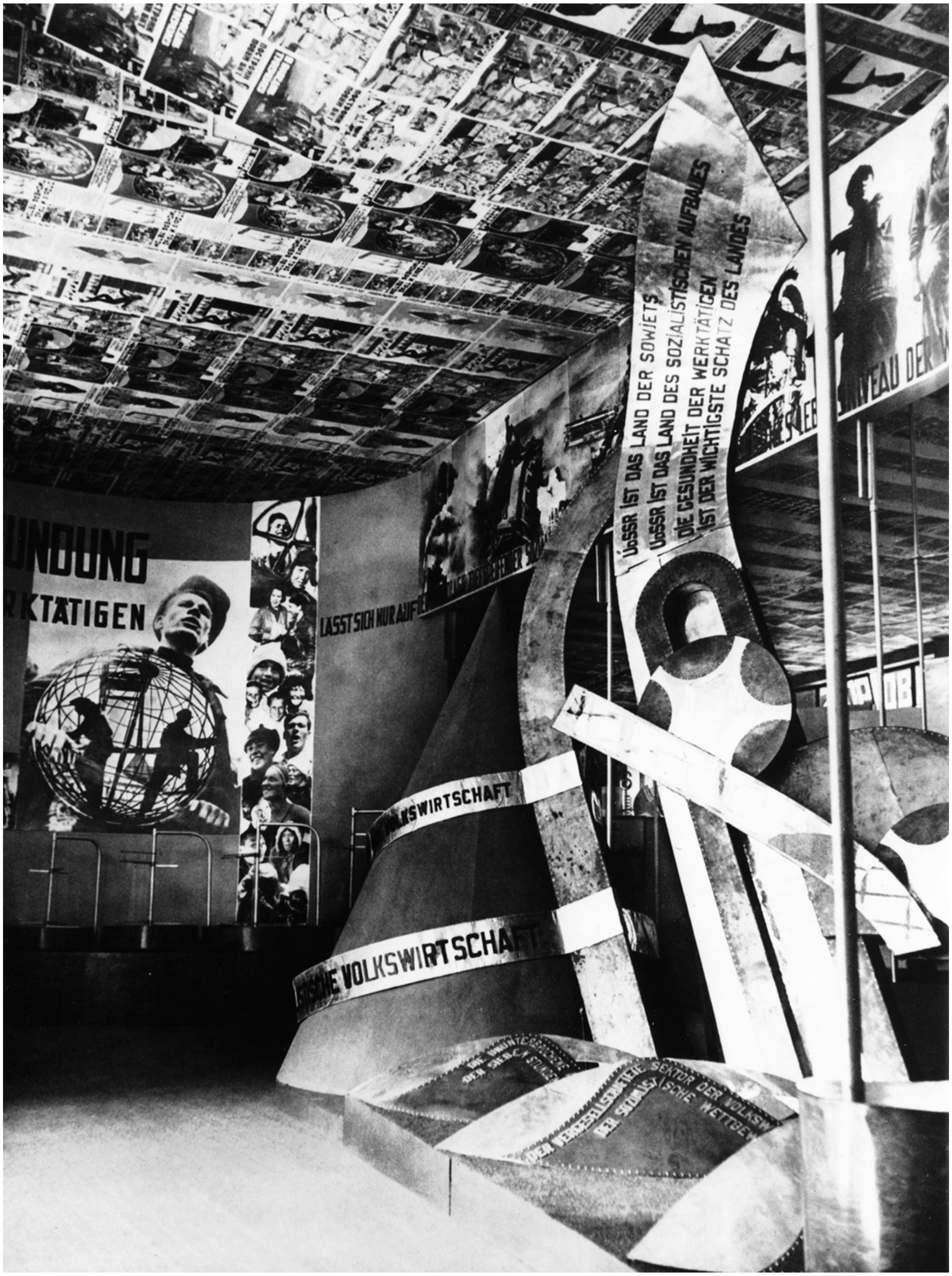
> *Photomontage, as the newest method of plastic art, is closely linked to the development of industrial culture and of forms of mass cultural media…. There arises a need for an art whose force would be a technique armed with apparatus and chemistry MEETING THE STANDARDS OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRY. Photomontage has turned out to be such an art.*[20]


KUNSTGEWERBEMUSEUM ZÜRICH
USSR
RUSSISCHE
AUSSTELLUNG
1929
24 MÄRZ – 28 APRIL
el
LISSITZKY
MOSKAU

73 El Lissitzky, poster for the Exhibition of Soviet Art, Zürich, 1929



74 El Lissitzky and Sergey Senkin, *The Task of the Press is the Education of the Masses*, photographic frieze for the International Press Exhibition, Cologne, 1928

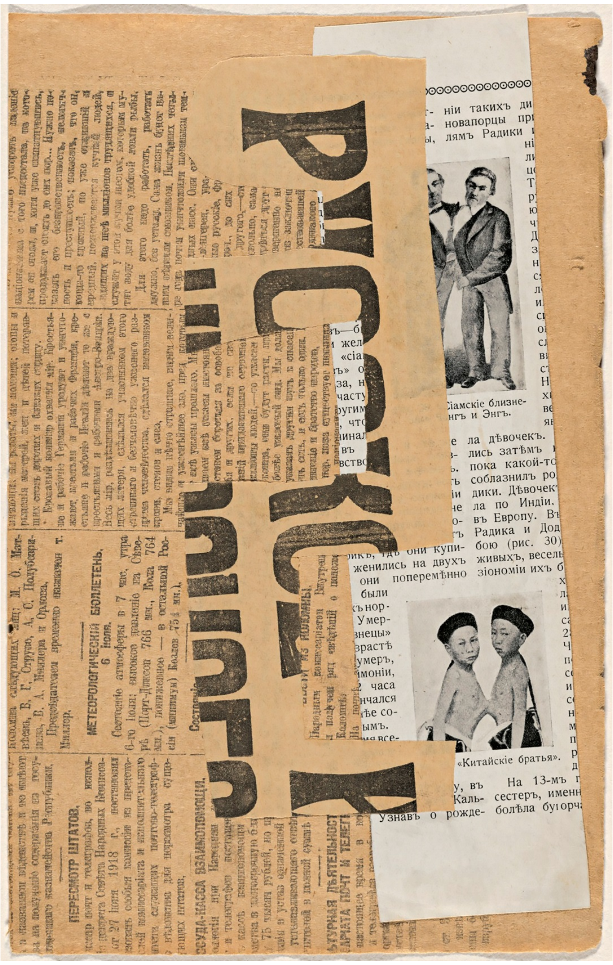

UNDUNG
RKTÄTIGEN
LASST SICH NUR AUF
UdSSR IST DAS LAND DER SOWJETS
UdSSR IST DAS LAND DES SOZIALISTISCHEN AUFBAUES
DIE GESUNDHEIT DER WERKTÄTIGEN
IST DER WICHTIGSTE SCHATZ DES LANDES
VEAU DER W
VOLKSWIRTSCHAFT
STISCHE VOLKSWIRTSCHAFT

75 The entrance to the Soviet pavilion at the International Hygiene Exhibition, Dresden, 1930, with photographs and photomontages on the ceiling.

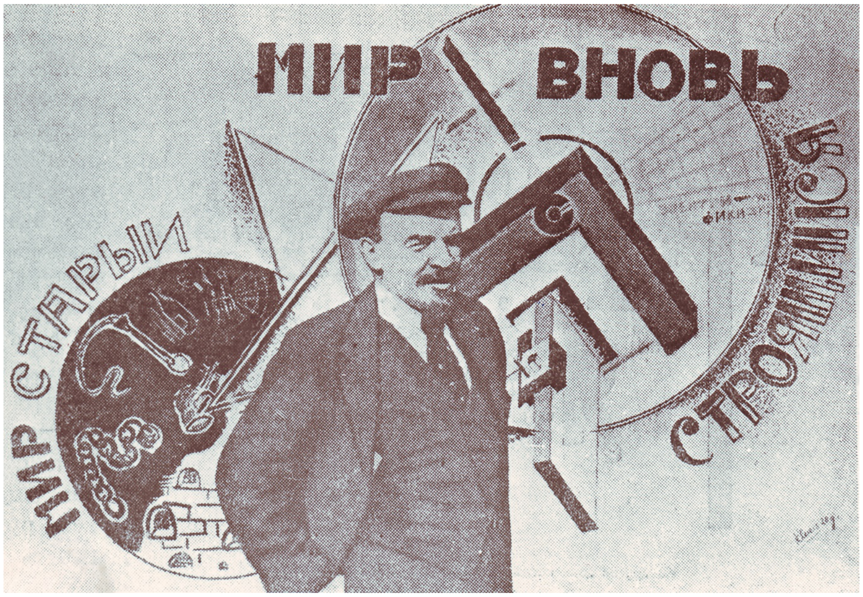
In his historical account of the development of the technique, Klucis claimed priority in the field of political photomontage. The following passage from his statement was quoted by Hausmann in *Courrier Dada*:

> *There are two general tendencies in the development of photomontage: one comes from American publicity and is exploited by the Dadaists and Expressionists – the so-called photomontage of form; the second tendency, that of militant and political photomontage, was created on the soil of the Soviet Union. Photomontage appeared in the USSR under the banner of 'the left front of the arts' (lef) when non-objective art was already finished…photomontage in the USSR as a new method of art dates from 1919–20.*[21]

Hausmann quoted this to challenge the dates Klucis gives, but does in fact seem to be overestimating the claim Klucis is making, which was that the first photomontage in the USSR was done in 1919–20 (he names his own *Dynamic City*), and that agitational–political photomontage was developed in the Soviet Union.[**78**] To support his claim to priority, Hausmann also says that El Lissitzky, who left Moscow for Germany late in 1921, saw photomontages for the first time in Hausmann's studio. The question of priority between Dada and the Russian Constructivists seems far from being settled. Vasilii Rakitin states that Klucis in fact first used photomontage in his design for a panel for the Fifth Congress of Soviets in Moscow in 1918, and that Alexei Gan experimented with it in the same year.[22] It would seem most likely that photomontage developed independently, among artists who knew about Cubist collage, although were not themselves practising it immediately prior to their first experiments with photomontage. Even if dates are settled one way or the other, the question of what was actually known remains. That El Lissitzky had not seen photomontage before doesn't mean Klucis had not experimented with it, though it does suggest that such experiments were not realized as public posters. It is interesting that the international poster magazine *Das Plakat*, which succeeded in both keeping its international character throughout the First World War and establishing easy contacts with the Russians after the war, published examples of Dada montage in 1920, but there were no photomontages among the examples of contemporary Russian posters it published the same year: only the *lubok*-like and caricatured posters of designers like Lebedev. The essential point, I think, is that both in Berlin and among the Russian Constructivists there was an urgent need to move away from the limitations of abstraction without slipping back into antiquated illustrational or figurative modes. The photograph obviously has a special and privileged place in relation to reality, and it is also susceptible to being manipulated in order to reorganize or disorganize that reality. It is for this reason that it was in Russia and Berlin, places where the impetus away from a predominantly aesthetic movement towards social concerns was most marked, that photomontage made its appearance.[23] A basically independent development is supported by the visual evidence, for in the cases of both Dadaists and Constructivists, the 'new' works using photomontage have more in common with the artists' own earlier works than with each other. The introduction of photographs in Klucis's case is initially within the compositional structure of his immediately preceding Constructivist/Suprematist works. It was to alter his compositional framework, but never in the direction of Dada.



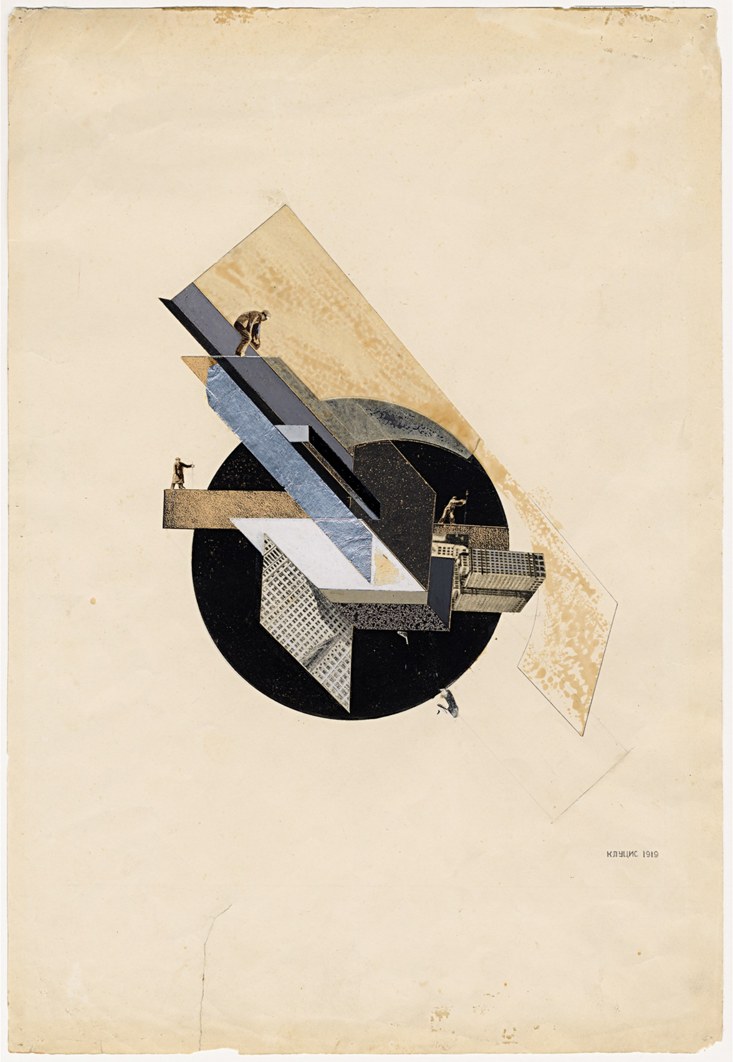
76 Varvara Stepanova, illustration from the album *Gaust Tschaba*, 1919



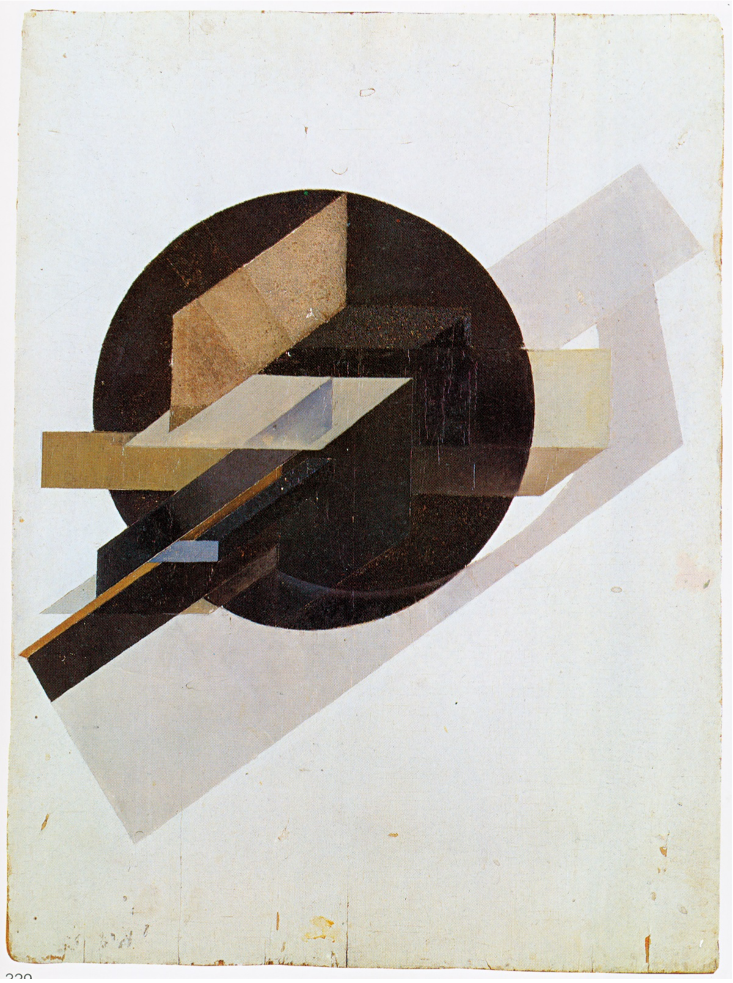
77 Gustav Klucis, *The Old World and The World being built Anew*, 1920

At the same time, the difference in character between Dada and Constructivist photomontage is evident, and the different circumstances in which each was produced were clearly to a large extent responsible. While the former, insofar as it was political, was satirical, and took as primary objects of attack the new Weimar Republic and German militarism, for Klucis 'agitational–political' photomontage was visionary and utopian in nature, intended to persuade at first of the aims and later of the achievements of the Soviet state. The differences between Klucis and Rodchenko are interesting here: Rodchenko's photomontages are more rooted in the everyday and can be ironic or humorous.[24]

Klucis's *Dynamic City* (1919–20), which he claimed was the first photomontage in the USSR, is very close to and possibly preceded a painting of the same title and date, made on wood on which sand and concrete had been mixed; a lithograph of the painting, by Kulagina, also exists.[25][**78**, **79**] This planar abstraction, whose geometric structure is closely related to Suprematism and especially, perhaps, to El Lissitzky's 'proun' compositions (see p. 133), was exhibited at the Moscow Unovis exhibition of 1921.[26] In the photomontage, certain planes have been 'replaced' by photographic elements: a whole skyscraper (suggesting volume), and a fragment of skyscraper façade (suggesting plane). Photographs of workers engaged in construction, whereby other planes become steel girders, or a wall, are added, and the overall significance is clear: the Communist world of the future is under construction, a new world is being built (the circle = the globe). The introduction of photographs transforms what was in Suprematist terms a symbolic message couched in comparatively abstruse ‘non-objective’ terms, into a relatively accessible image. Klucis added, possibly later, the following inscription to *Dynamic City*: ‘Voluminally spatial Suprematism + photomontage. The overthrow of non-objectivity and the birth of photomontage as an independent art form.’[27] There is still, however, compared with the specific messages of later photomontages, more than a hint of the abstract visionary language of the founder of Unovis, Malevich, who welcomed the Revolution in cosmic terms: ‘Innovators of the whole world, a new pole of the revolutionary axis is turning by the force of fire our heavy Sphere.’[28]

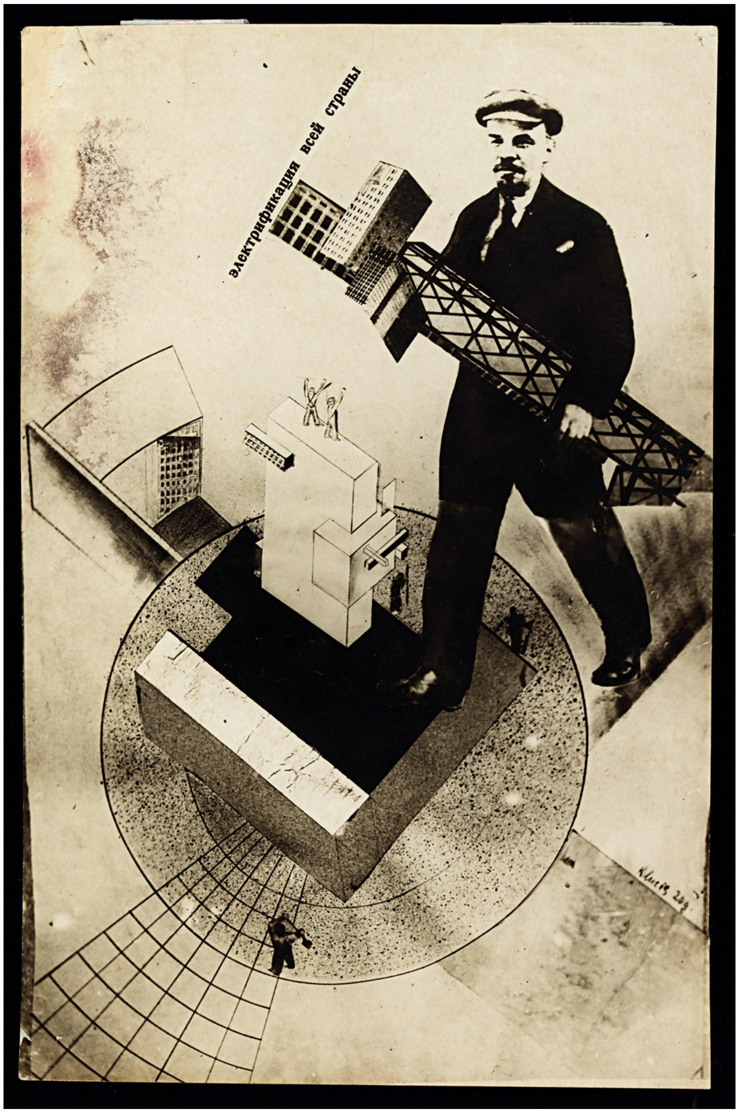


78 Gustav Klucis, *Dynamic City* 1919–21, photomontage

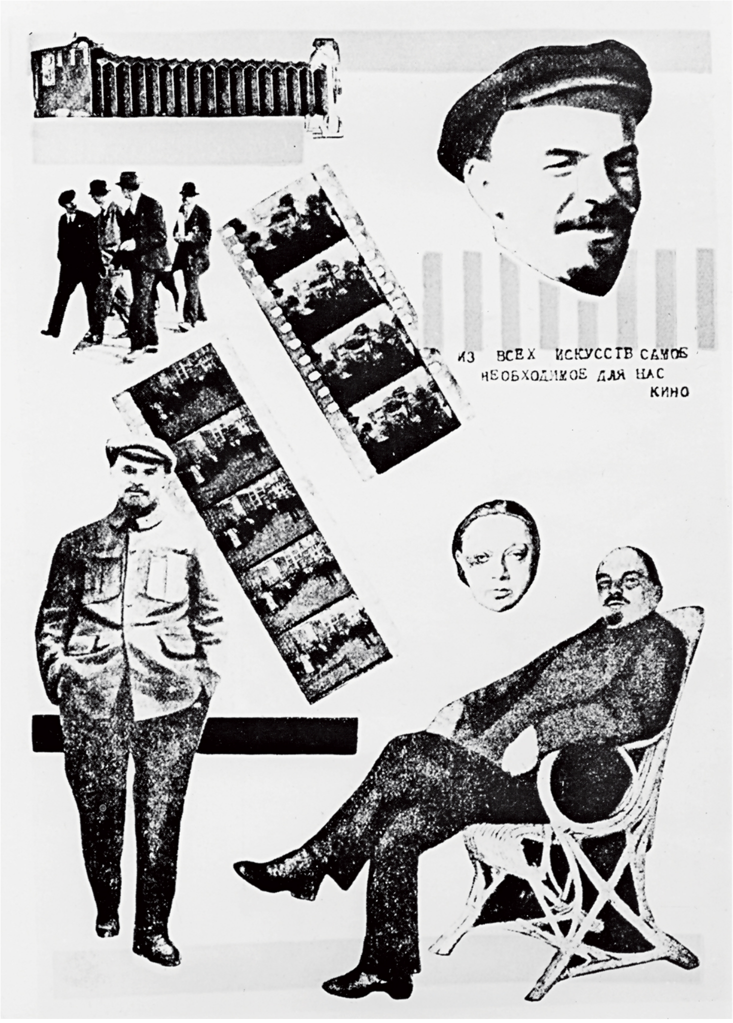


79 Gustav Klucis, *Dynamic City* 1919–21, oil with sand and concrete on wood

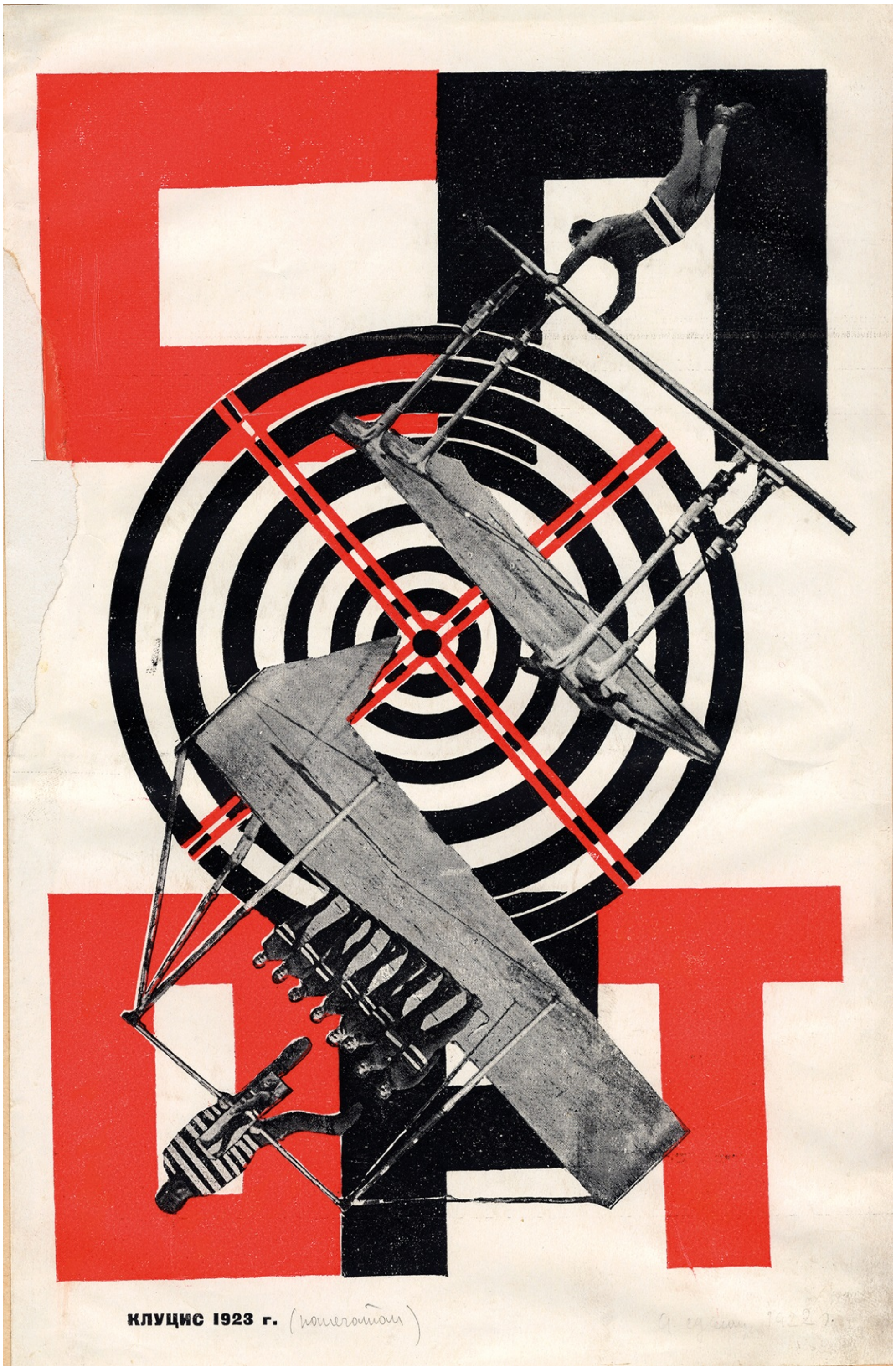
Both in this photomontage and in *Sport* (1923), Klucis favours a diagonal composition which enforces their dynamism.[**82**] He suggested, in one case, that the photomontage could be looked at any way up, and certainly in *Dynamic City* there is no obvious ‘right’ way up, no fixed point from which it should be seen, while in *Sport* the idea of rotation is built in: the spinning of the trapeze underlined by the concentric circles.[29] But *Dynamic City* was not designed as a poster, whereas certain photomontages of 1920, such as *The Old World and The World being built Anew* and *The Electrification of the Entire Country*, probably were.[**77**, **80**] The latter was connected to Lenin’s Electrification Plan, herald of his major modernization and industrialization programme, and formulated thus by Lenin: ‘Communism means Soviet rule + Electrification.’[30] Bojko states that Klucis planned to incorporate this photomontage into a poster, but it was never realized. In the image, Lenin strides into a circle (the world) that recalls Klucis's earlier geometric Suprematist compositions but is also now the base or centre of forms clearly signifying building and, in the bottom left, possibly radio transmission. He carries a pylon tipped with skyscrapers and the title message. The radial dynamism of the earlier works is still visible here; it is less evident in *The Old World and The World being built Anew*, where the positive image of Lenin is superimposed over two circles in which the old world, with its whips, chains and prison, is confronted by the new, a circle framing Lenin's head and filled with construction work. [77] In 1924, in memory of Lenin, who had died that year, Klucis and Senkin, with a contribution from Rodchenko, prepared a series of photomontages for a special publication. Today a rare museum piece, the work contained fourteen full-page, two-colour compositions, most of which were untitled. Hence it was called a “photo-slogan-montage”. This was followed by a second photomontage publication, ‘Lenin i dyeti’, also of 1924.


электрификация всей страны
Klucis 20g.

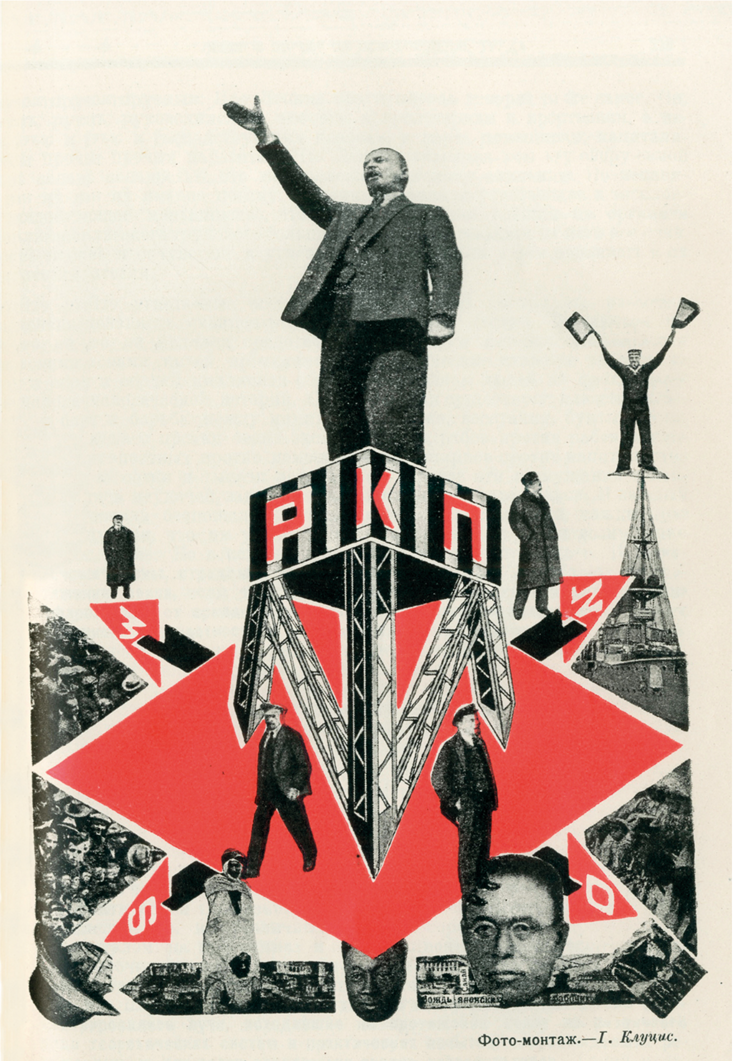
80 Gustav Klucis, *The Electrification of the Entire Country*, 1920


ИЗ ВСЕХ ИСКУССТВ САМОЕ
НЕОБХОДИМОЕ ДЛЯ НАС
КИНО

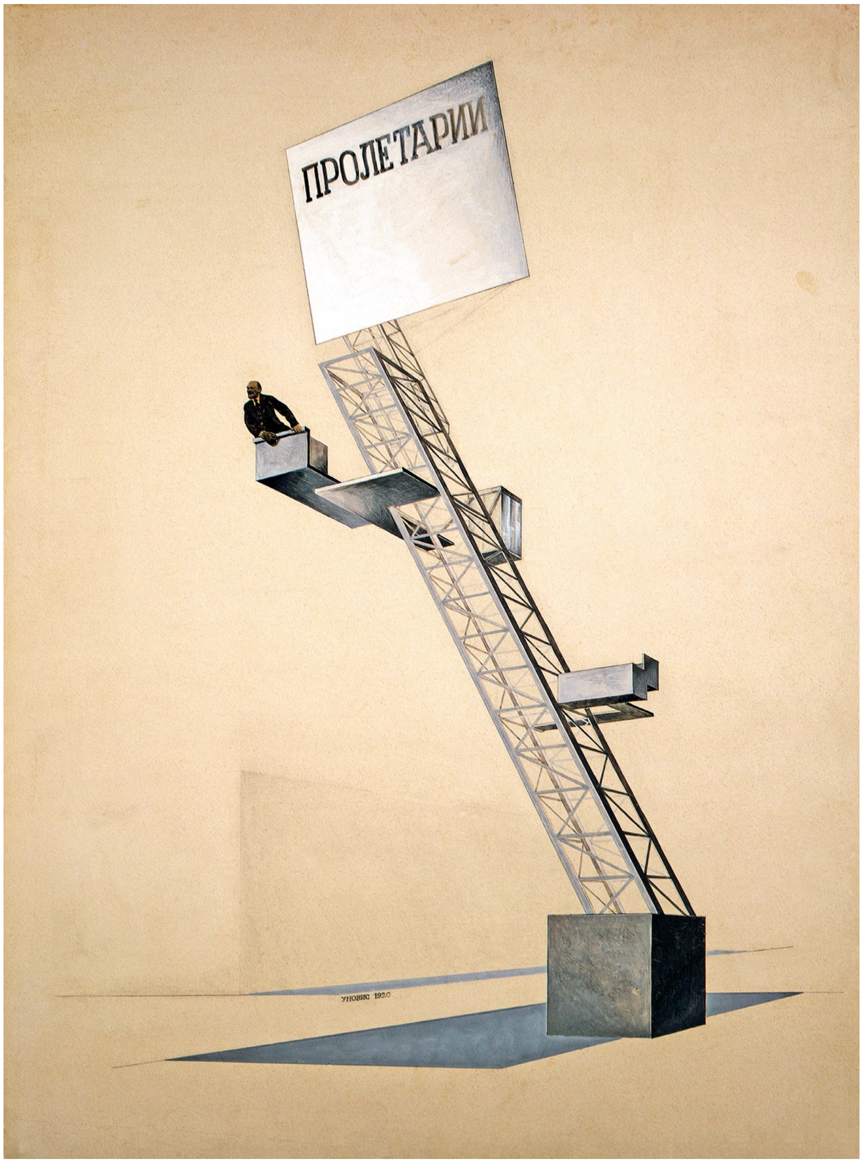
81 Sergey Senkin, photomontage for a special edition of *Molodaya gwardya* (to Lenin), 1924


КЛУЦИС 1923 г.

82 Gustav Klucis, *Sport*, 1923


РКП
Фото-монтаж.—Г. Клуцис.

83 Gustav Klucis, photomontage for a special edition of *Molodaya gwardya* (to Lenin), 1924



84 El Lissitzky (studio), *The Lenin Podium*, 1924

By this date, photomontage was established as a preferred Constructivist medium. Klucis was certainly right in saying that photomontage gathered momentum with *Lef* (Journal of the Left Front of the Arts, 1923–25), whose founders included Mayakovsky, Osip Brik, Tretyakov and Rodchenko. The drive behind *Lef* was the need to link Constructivist theory with the practice of the individual artist, and to clarify the position of art within a revolutionary society. It was an attempt to form a broad front of artists on the ‘left’. The editorial for the first issue of *Lef* addressed artists as follows: ‘In dictating orders to the factory from your studios you become simply customers. Your school is the factory floor.’

This echoes the demands of The First Working Group of Constructivists, set up in 1921, which had taken issue with those artists like Gabo who held to the autonomous role of the artist, and dismissed as ‘studio dreams’ their belief in building up a new art to ‘match’ the new society. As Rodchenko said, ‘The same laws of economy and material limitation should govern the production of a ship, a house, a poem, or a pair of boots.’ El Lissitzky, who attempted to bridge the gap between these opposing groups, described the dialectical development through which art had passed, reaching a positive stage in which ‘art is becoming recognised for its inherent capacity to order, organise and activate the consciousness through the inner charge of its emotional energy.’[31]

The fourth issue of *Lef* contained a statement entitled ‘Photomontage’ that stresses the special value of the photograph as document and its appropriateness, therefore, for posters with educational and informational purposes:

By photomontage we mean the use of the photograph as an illustrative means. A combination of photos replaces a composition of graphic images. The sense of this substitution is that the photo is not a sketch of a visual fact, but an exact fixation of it. This exactness and documentariness give the photo a power of influence over the observer which a graphic image can never attain. A poster about hunger with photos of starving people creates a much stronger impression than a placard with sketches of the same starving people.

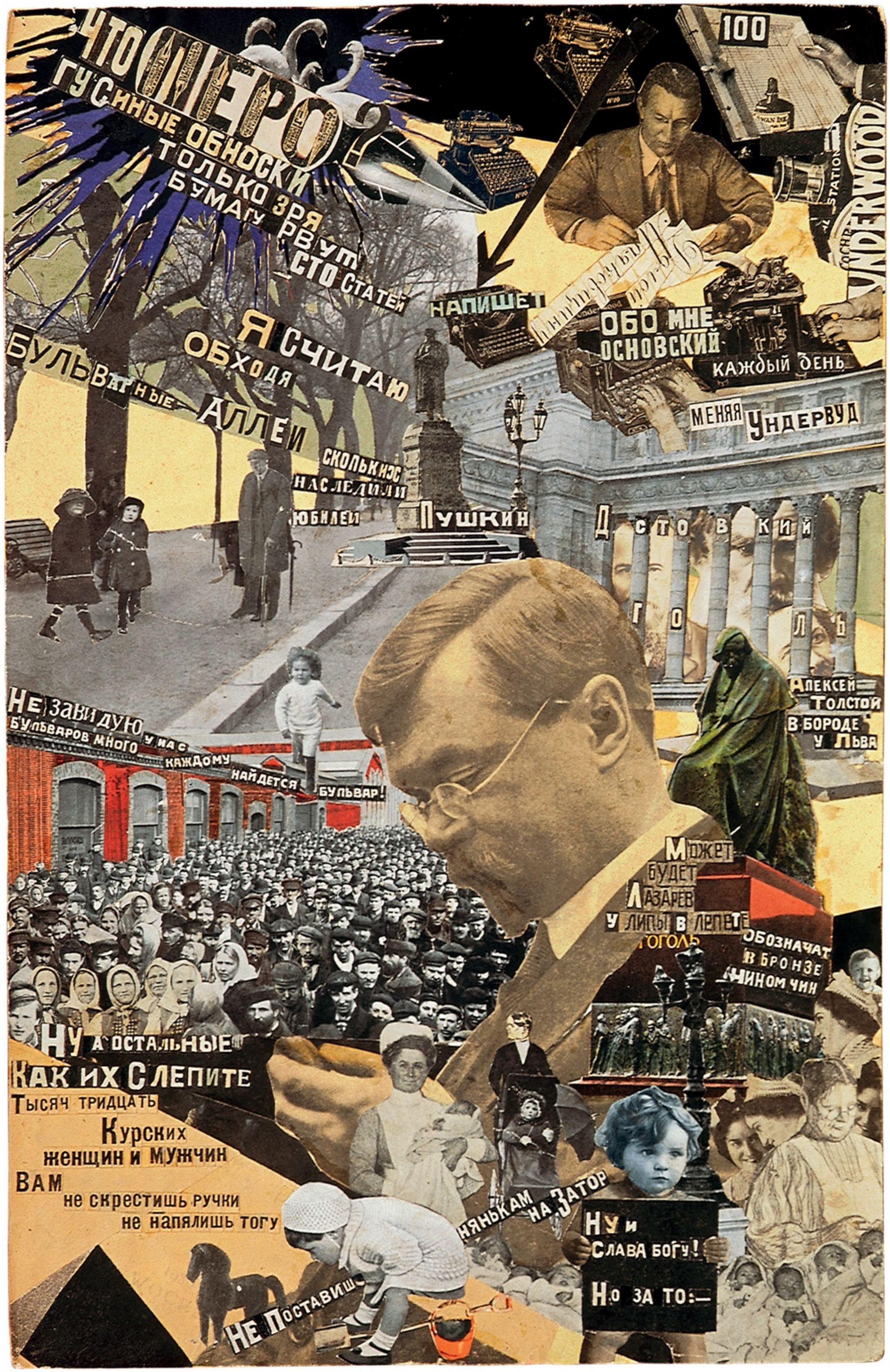
An advertisement with a photo advertises the product more effectively than a drawing on the same subject.

Up to now a qualified photo, i.e. an artistic one, has always tried to imitate painting and drawing, which is why its production has been weak, and has not revealed the possibilities there are in photography. Photographers supposed that the more like a picture the photo was, the more artistic and better it would be. In reality, however, the result has turned out quite the reverse: the more artistic it is, the worse it is. Photography has its own possibilities for montage and has nothing in common with the composition of pictures. These [possibilities] should be made clear.

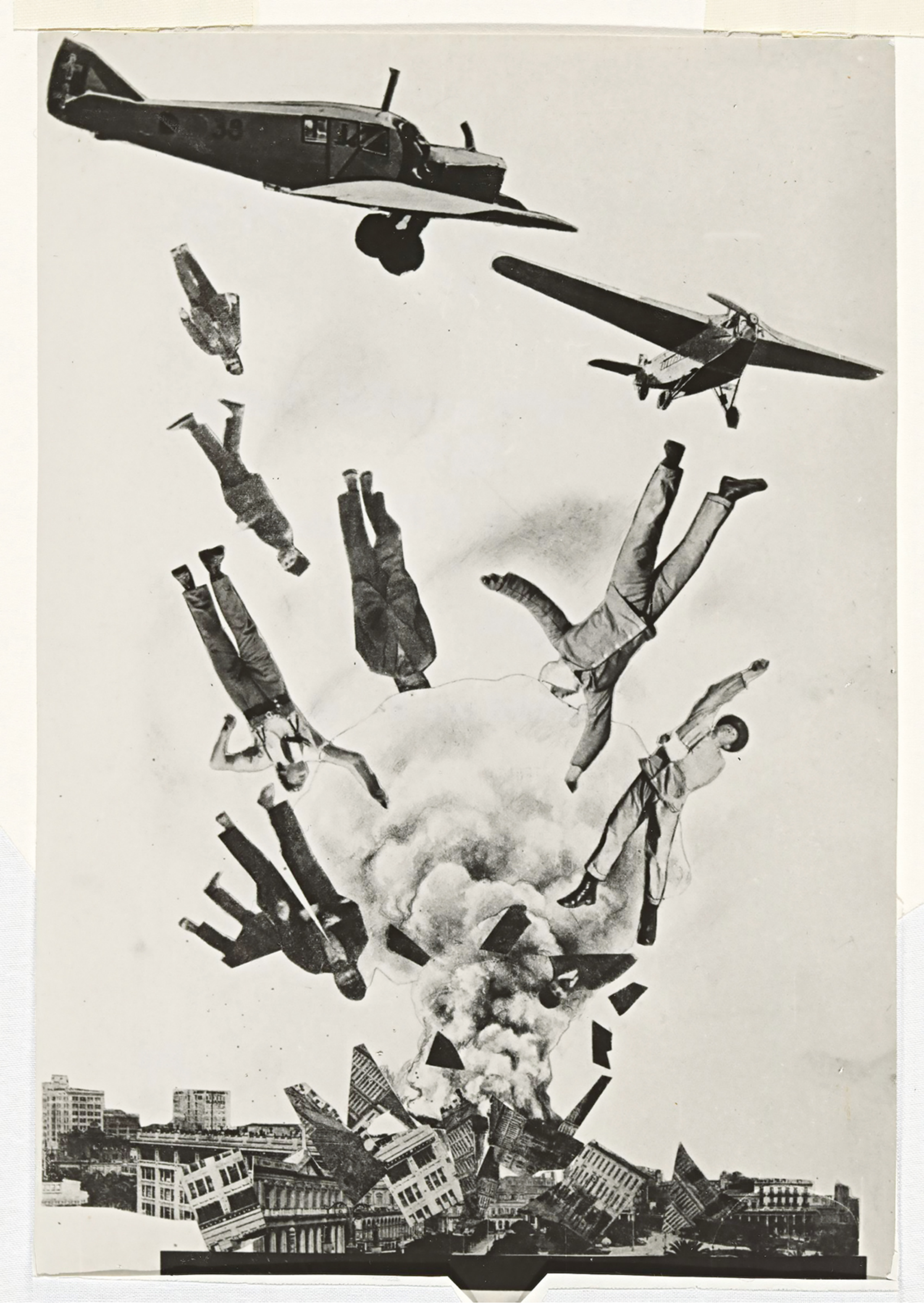
As examples of photomontage in Russia, we can point out the works of Rodchenko in his book-covers, posters, advertisements and illustrations (Mayakovsky's About This).

~In the West the works of Georges Grosse [sic] and other Dadaists are typical.[32]

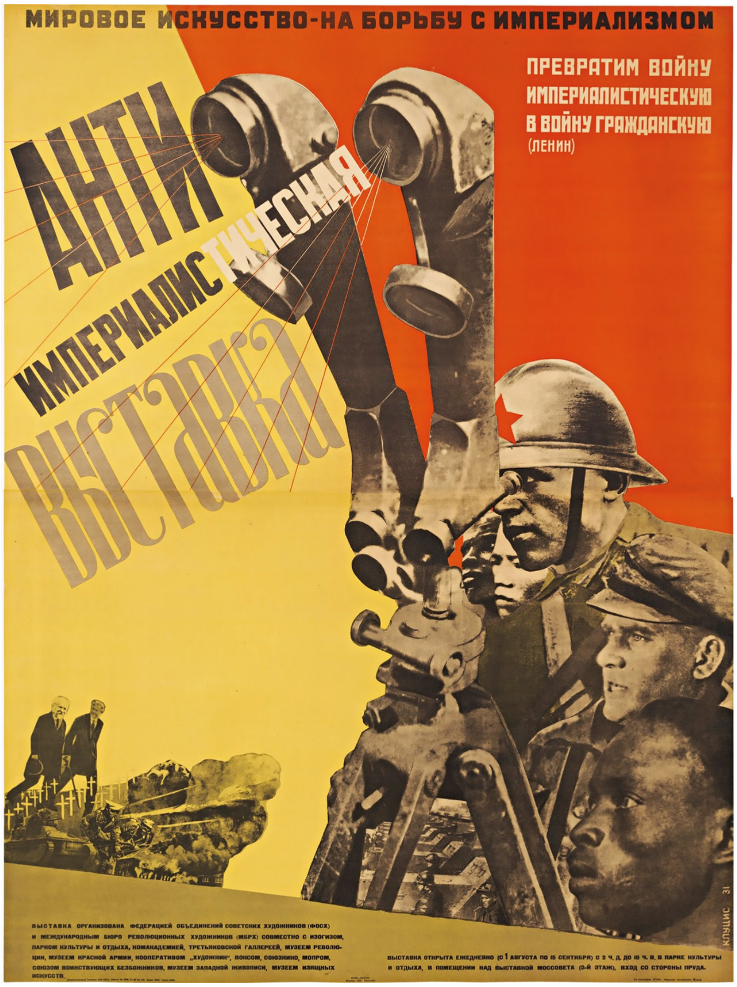
The unsigned article was illustrated with one of Paul Citroën's *City/Metropolis* photomontages; Popova's design for *The Earth in Turmoil*, itself incorporating photomontage, was reproduced beside it, and the statement on photomontage was followed by Popova's notes on the production and set for Tretyakov's agit-prop adaptation of Marcel Martinet's play.[**121**, **89**] A link is deliberately established between them. Not only does the design incorporate photomontage (for example, photo-portraits of the Czar and his generals are turned upside down and eliminated with a cross, symbolizing the passing of the old order), but the staging itself included cinema (projection of slogans and pictures), slides, special lighting effects and, it seems, actual objects such as a car, tractor and gun. The purpose of this treatment was to go for 'lifelike' as opposed to 'aesthetic activity', and to give 'the centre of attention to the agitational side of the play'.


Что перо?
гусиные обноски
только зря
бумагу рвут
сто статей
100
Underwood
напишет
обо мне
Основский
каждый день
меняя ундервуд
Я считаю
обходя
бульварные аллеи
сколько нас
наследили
юбилей
Пушкин
Достоевский
Гоголь
Алексей
Толстой
в бороде
у льва
Не завидую
бульваров много у нас
каждому
найдется
бульвар!
Может
будет
Лазарев
у липы в лепете
Гоголь
обозначат
в бронзе
чином чин
Ну а остальные
как их слепите
тысяч тридцать
курских
женщин и мужчин
вам
не скрестишь ручки
не напялишь тогу
нянькам на затор
не поставишь
Ну и
слава богу!
Но за то:—

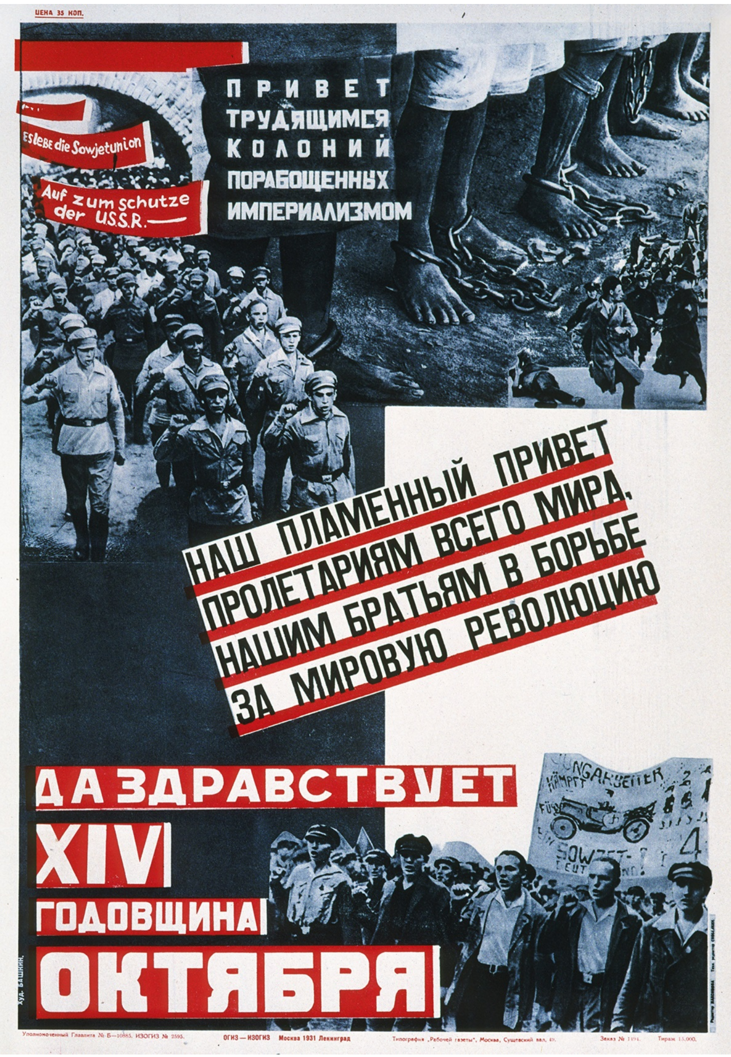
85 Juryi Roshkov, photomontage for Mayakovsky’s poem ‘A temporary monument created by Mayakovsky to the workers of Kursk who first extracted the ore’, *c*. 1925



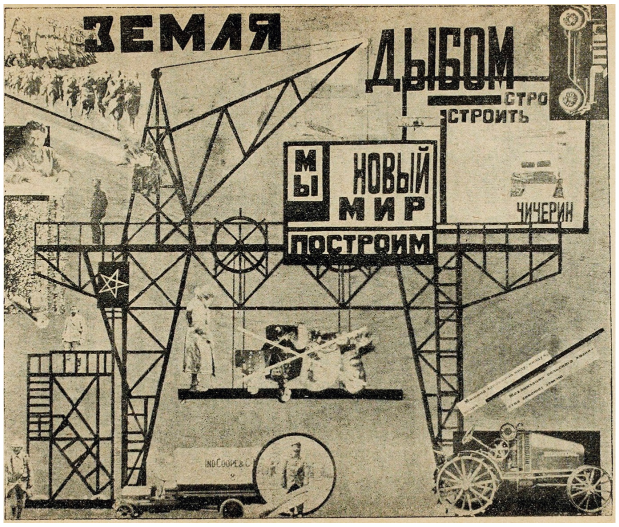
86 Alexander Rodchenko, *The Crisis*, 1923


МИРОВОЕ ИСКУССТВО-НА БОРЬБУ С ИМПЕРИАЛИЗМОМ
ПРЕВРАТИМ ВОЙНУ ИМПЕРИАЛИСТИЧЕСКУЮ В ВОЙНУ ГРАЖДАНСКУЮ
(ЛЕНИН)
АНТИ
ИМПЕРИАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ
ВЫСТАВКА
ВЫСТАВКА ОРГАНИЗОВАНА ФЕДЕРАЦИЕЙ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЙ СОВЕТСКИХ ХУДОЖНИКОВ (ФОСХ) И МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫМ БЮРО РЕВОЛЮЦИОННЫХ ХУДОЖНИКОВ (МБРХ) СОВМЕСТНО С ИЗОГИЗОМ, ПАРКОМ КУЛЬТУРЫ И ОТДЫХА, КОМАКАДЕМИЕЙ, ТРЕТЬЯКОВСКОЙ ГАЛЛЕРЕЕЙ, МУЗЕЕМ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ, МУЗЕЕМ КРАСНОЙ АРМИИ, КООПЕРАТИВОМ „ХУДОЖНИК", ВОКСОМ, СОЮЗКИНО, МОПРОМ, СОЮЗОМ ВОИНСТВУЮЩИХ БЕЗБОЖНИКОВ, МУЗЕЕМ ЗАПАДНОЙ ЖИВОПИСИ, МУЗЕЕМ ИЗЯЩНЫХ ИСКУССТВ.
ВЫСТАВКА ОТКРЫТА ЕЖЕДНЕВНО (С 1 АВГУСТА ПО 15 СЕНТЯБРЯ) С 2 Ч. Д. ДО 10 Ч. В. В ПАРКЕ КУЛЬТУРЫ И ОТДЫХА, В ПОМЕЩЕНИИ НАД ВЫСТАВКОЙ МОССОВЕТА (2-Й ЭТАЖ), ВХОД СО СТОРОНЫ ПРУДА.
КЛУЦИС 31

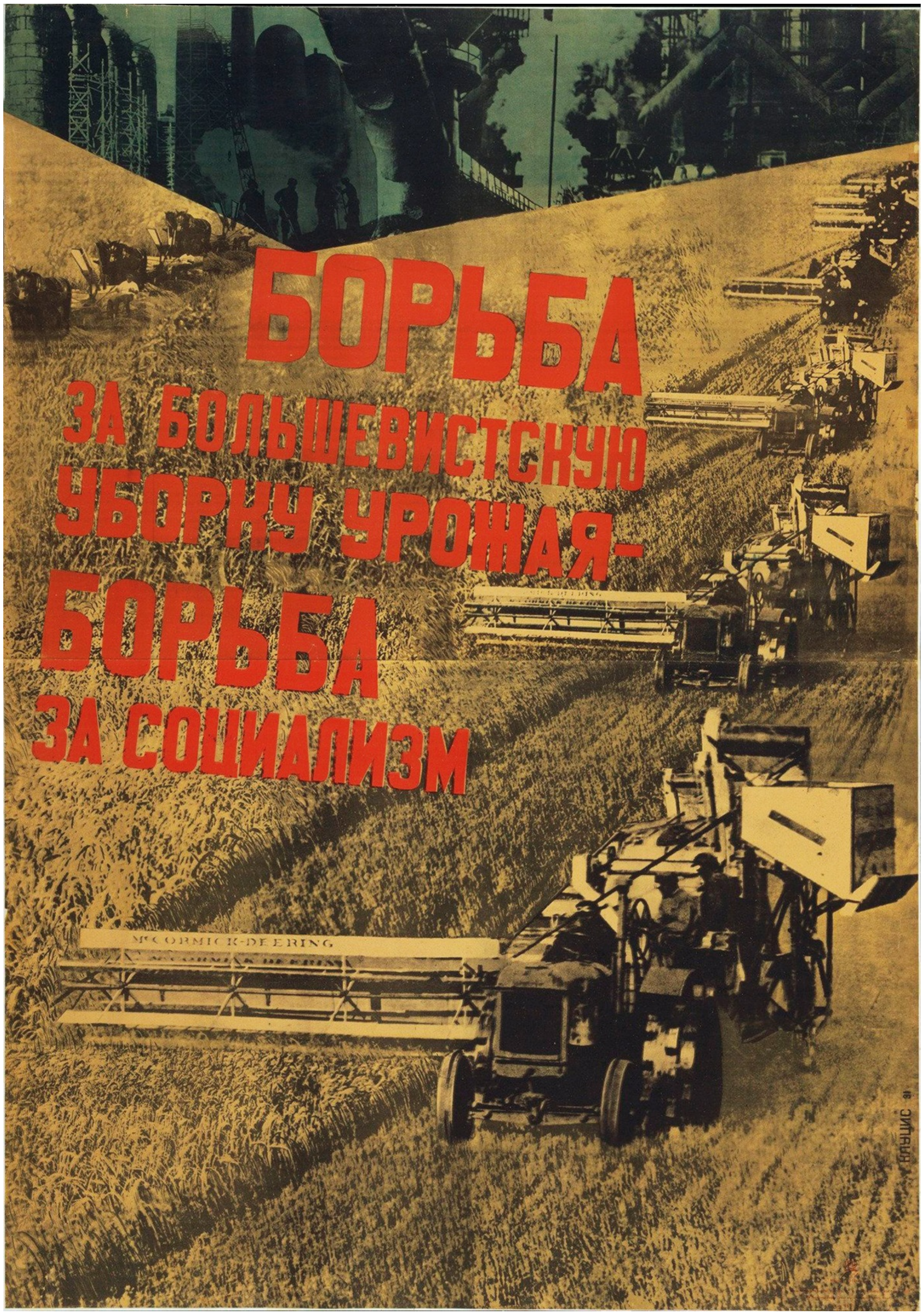
87 Gustav Klucis, poster for an anti-imperialist exhibition, 1931


ЦЕНА 35 КОП.
Es lebe die Sowjetunion
Auf zum schutze der USSR.
ПРИВЕТ ТРУДЯЩИМСЯ КОЛОНИЙ ПОРАБОЩЕННЫХ ИМПЕРИАЛИЗМОМ
НАШ ПЛАМЕННЫЙ ПРИВЕТ ПРОЛЕТАРИЯМ ВСЕГО МИРА, НАШИМ БРАТЬЯМ В БОРЬБЕ ЗА МИРОВУЮ РЕВОЛЮЦИЮ
ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ XIV ГОДОВЩИНА ОКТЯБРЯ
Худ. БАШКИН.
Уполномоченный Главлита № Б—10885. ИЗОГИЗ № 2595.
ОГИЗ — ИЗОГИЗ Москва 1931 Ленинград
Типография „Рабочей газеты", Москва, Сущевский вал, 49.
Заказ № 1194.
Тираж 15.000.

88 Poster marking the fourteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, 1931


ЗЕМЛЯ
ДЫБОМ
СТРО
СТРОИТЬ
МЫ
НОВЫЙ
МИР
ПОСТРОИМ
ЧИЧЕРИН

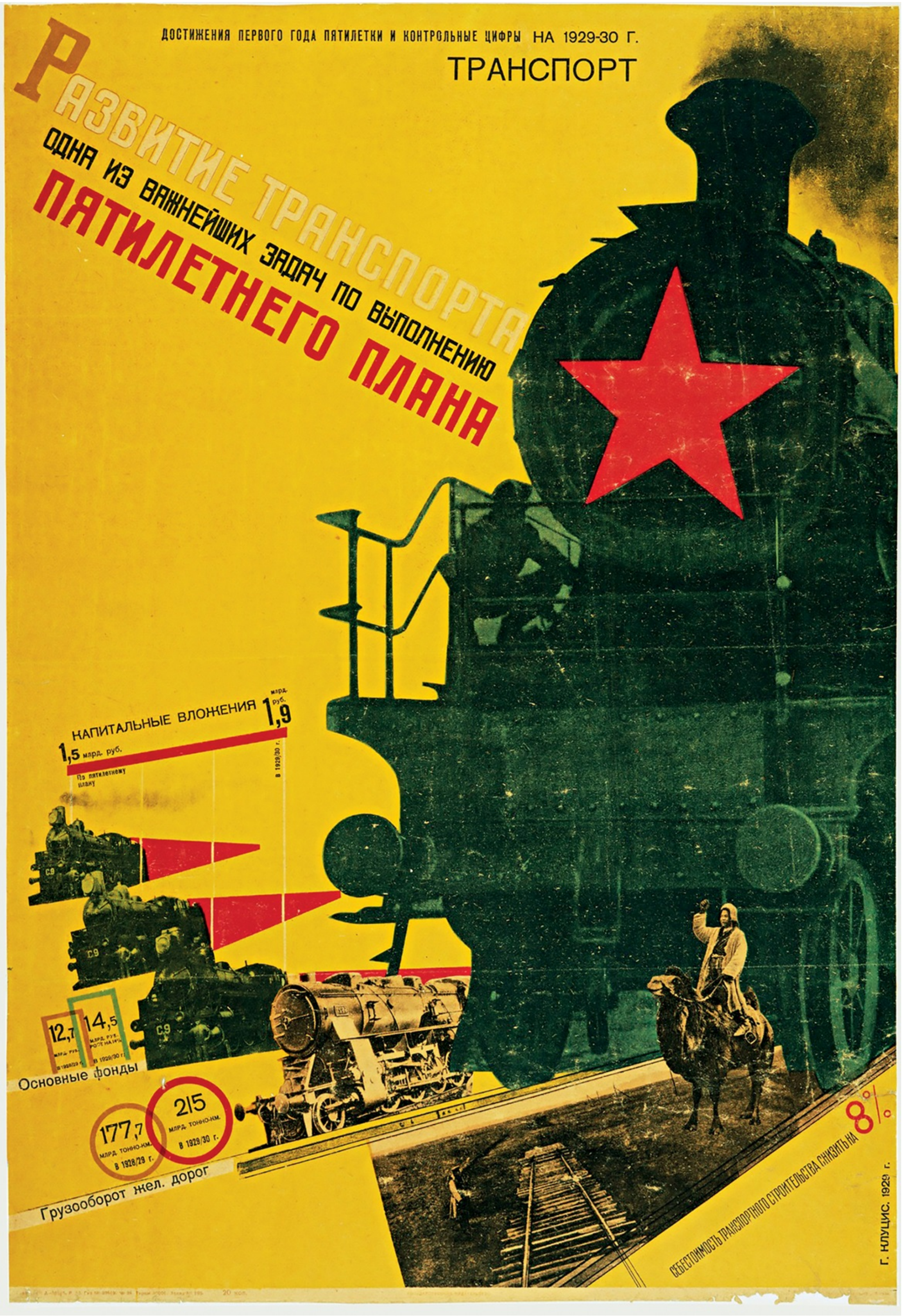
89 Liubov Popova, design for *The Earth in Turmoil*, 1923


БОРЬБА
ЗА БОЛЬШЕВИСТСКУЮ
УБОРКУ УРОЖАЯ-
БОРЬБА
ЗА СОЦИАЛИЗМ
McCORMICK-DEERING
КЛУЦИС 31

90 Gustav Klucis, *The Struggle for the Bolshevik Harvest is the struggle for Socialism*, from the *Struggle for the Five-Year Plan* poster series, 1931

Although Klucis was right to say that non-objective art was finished by this time, much of its magnificent energy was absorbed into photomontage. Most of the artists who were to use photomontage in an agitational or promotional capacity – Rodchenko, the Stenbergs, Popova, Klucis, El

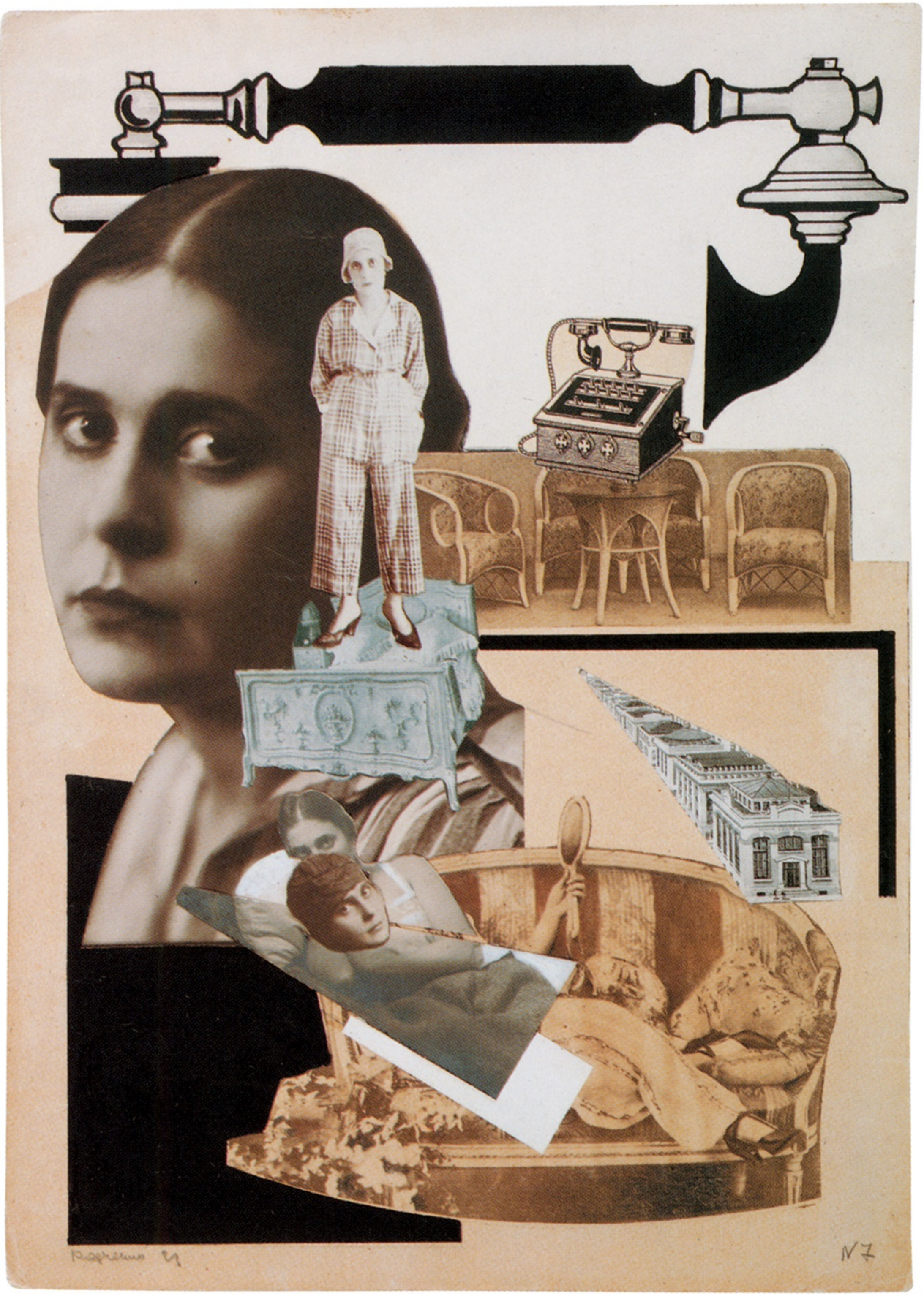
Lissitzky and so on – had previously worked as non-objective artists, and then between 1920 and 1922 explored Constructivist concepts in drawings and three-dimensional constructions with the impetus always towards the practical incorporation of their ideas into industry and technology. Although they resented the charge that, in their designs for textiles, posters, ceramics and so on, they were merely ‘applying easel sketches to objects of factory production’ (Brik), it is nonetheless true that the principles of shaping and organizing material developed during the early Constructivist days carry over into their later works. Klucis’s posters, like *Transport Achievement of the First Five-Year Plan* (1929), and other works of the 1930s, retain the dynamic composition and strikingly angled viewpoint characteristic of Constructivism.[**91**] El Lissitzky’s poster for the Exhibition of Soviet Art, Zürich, 1929, uses two heads photographed from his favourite angle – below the eye-level of the subject.[**73**] The soft grey tone allows the two heads to merge, as though looking into the future with a single shared vision, and contrasts strikingly with the sharp black and white of the lower part, which is either drawn or drawn over a photograph. Tension is set up between the abstract pattern created by the stark black-and-white shapes and their existence as shadows and projections on the sharply receding façade of the building.


ДОСТИЖЕНИЯ ПЕРВОГО ГОДА ПЯТИЛЕТКИ И КОНТРОЛЬНЫЕ ЦИФРЫ НА 1929-30 Г.
ТРАНСПОРТ
РАЗВИТИЕ ТРАНСПОРТА
ОДНА ИЗ ВАЖНЕЙШИХ ЗАДАЧ ПО ВЫПОЛНЕНИЮ
ПЯТИЛЕТНЕГО ПЛАНА
КАПИТАЛЬНЫЕ ВЛОЖЕНИЯ
1,5 млрд. руб.
По пятилетнему плану
1,9 млрд. руб.
в 1929/30 г.
12,7 млрд. руб. в 1928/29 г.
14,5 млрд. руб. в 1929/30 г.
Основные фонды
177,7 млрд. тонно-км. в 1928/29 г.
215 млрд. тонно-км. в 1929/30 г.
Грузооборот жел. дорог
СЕБЕСТОИМОСТЬ ТРАНСПОРТНОГО СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВА СНИЗИТЬ НА 8%
Г. КЛУЦИС. 1929 г.
20 коп.

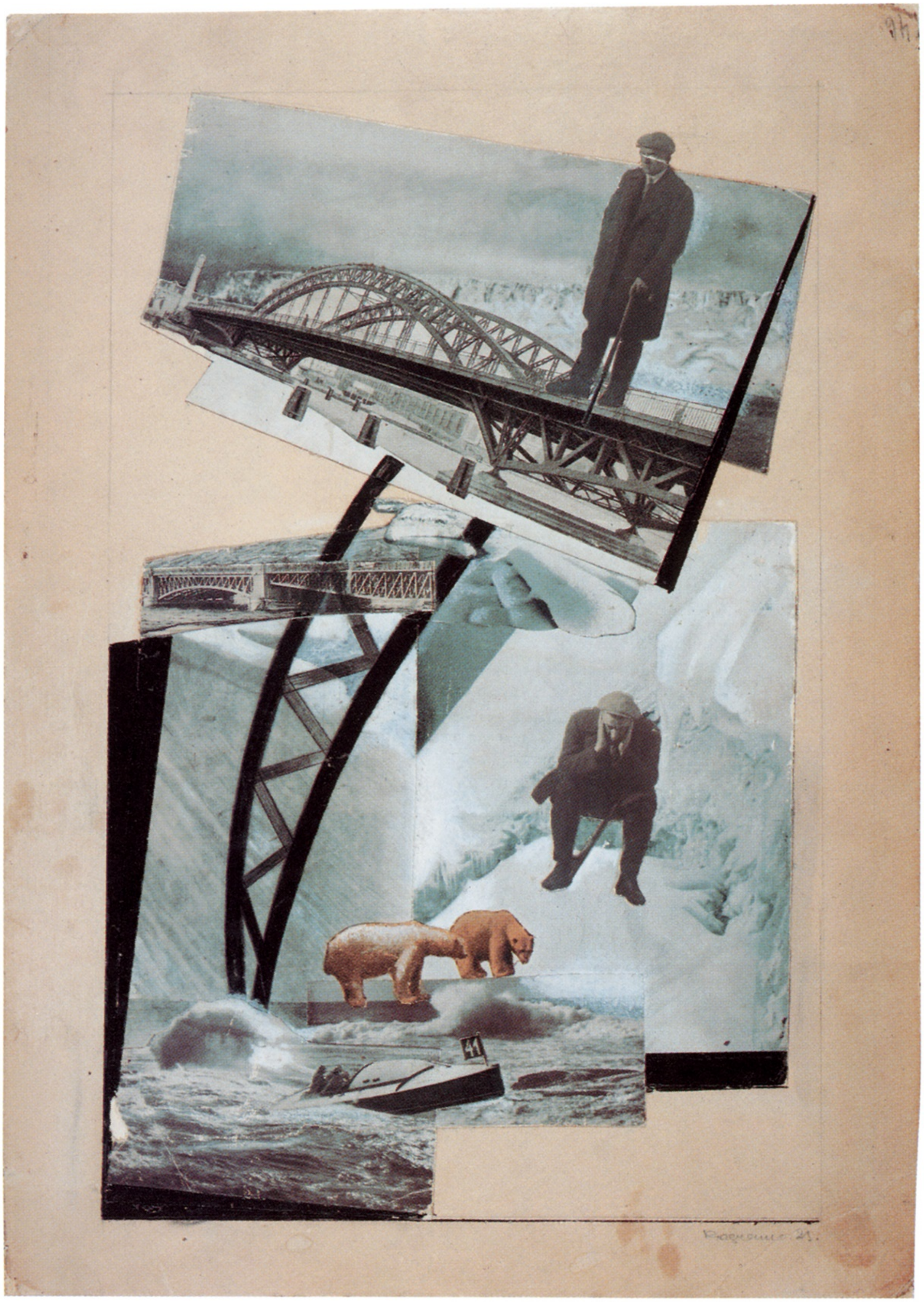
91 Gustav Klucis, *Transport Achievement of the First Five-Year Plan*, 1929

The emphasis on photomontage in posters, book jackets, advertisements and illustration, and the use of photography in wall friezes and on exhibition stands, must be understood against the gathering strength of representational easel painting. The ‘First Discussional Exhibition of Associations of Active Revolutionary Art’, held in Moscow in 1924, included factions of progressive artists who favoured easel painting, a relatively naturalistic style and modern, heroic subject matter. Brik’s text of 1924, in *Lef* 2, ‘From pictures to textile prints’, mounted a strong attack on these.[33] ‘Photomontage’, with its stress on ‘the combination of photos’ as opposed to a ‘composition of graphic images’ should be seen in the context of *this* debate, not one centring on ‘non-objective’ art.

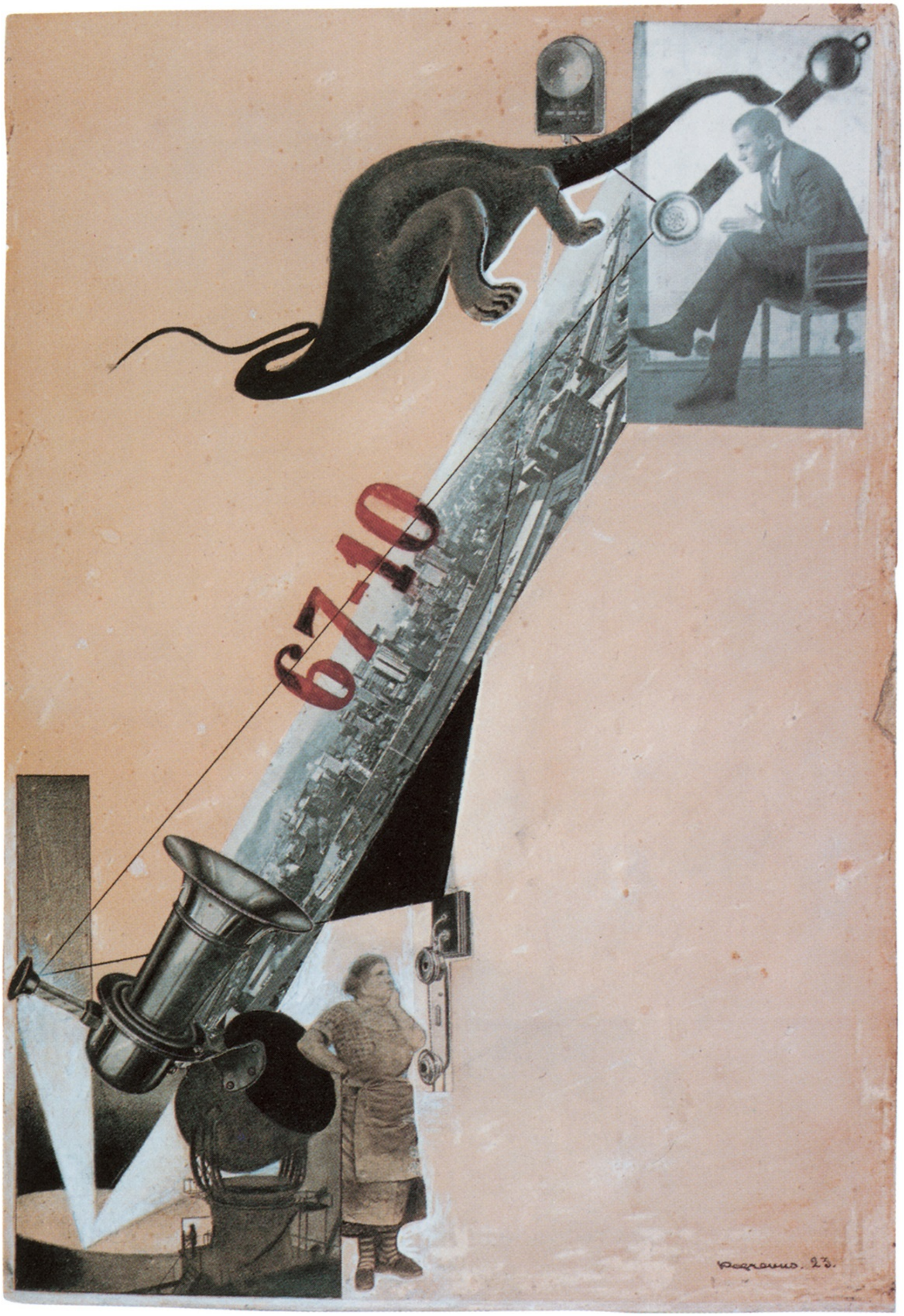
In 1923, Rodchenko took charge of the layout and cover designs for *Lef*, and made his first series of photomontages to illustrate Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*. These were among the first imaginative works in this medium in Russia, and bear witness to Rodchenko’s assent to Mayakovsky’s ideas. [**92–99**] The core of the poem is a passionate demand for individual expression within a revolutionary society (‘a redeemer of earthly love I’ll be, alone’) – if, indeed, they were still living in a revolutionary society, for Mayakovsky had fears (‘our mode of living, which is now our deadliest enemy, making us petty bourgeois philistines’).[34] The poem is on many levels an appeal against isolation – isolation from Lily Brik, his lover, as well as from society as a whole (Mayakovsky was regarded as a rogue Communist by practically everyone, including Lenin).



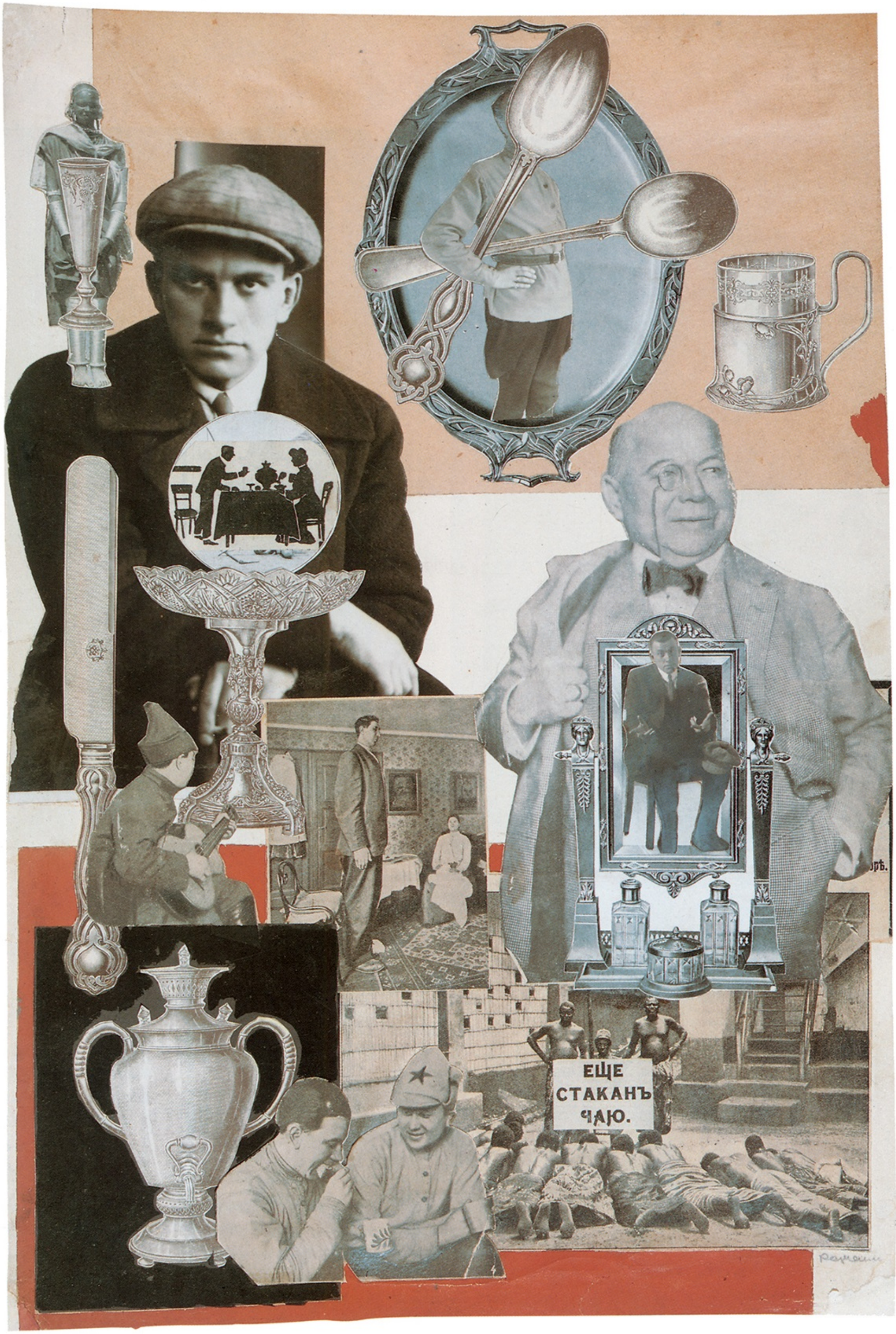
92 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923



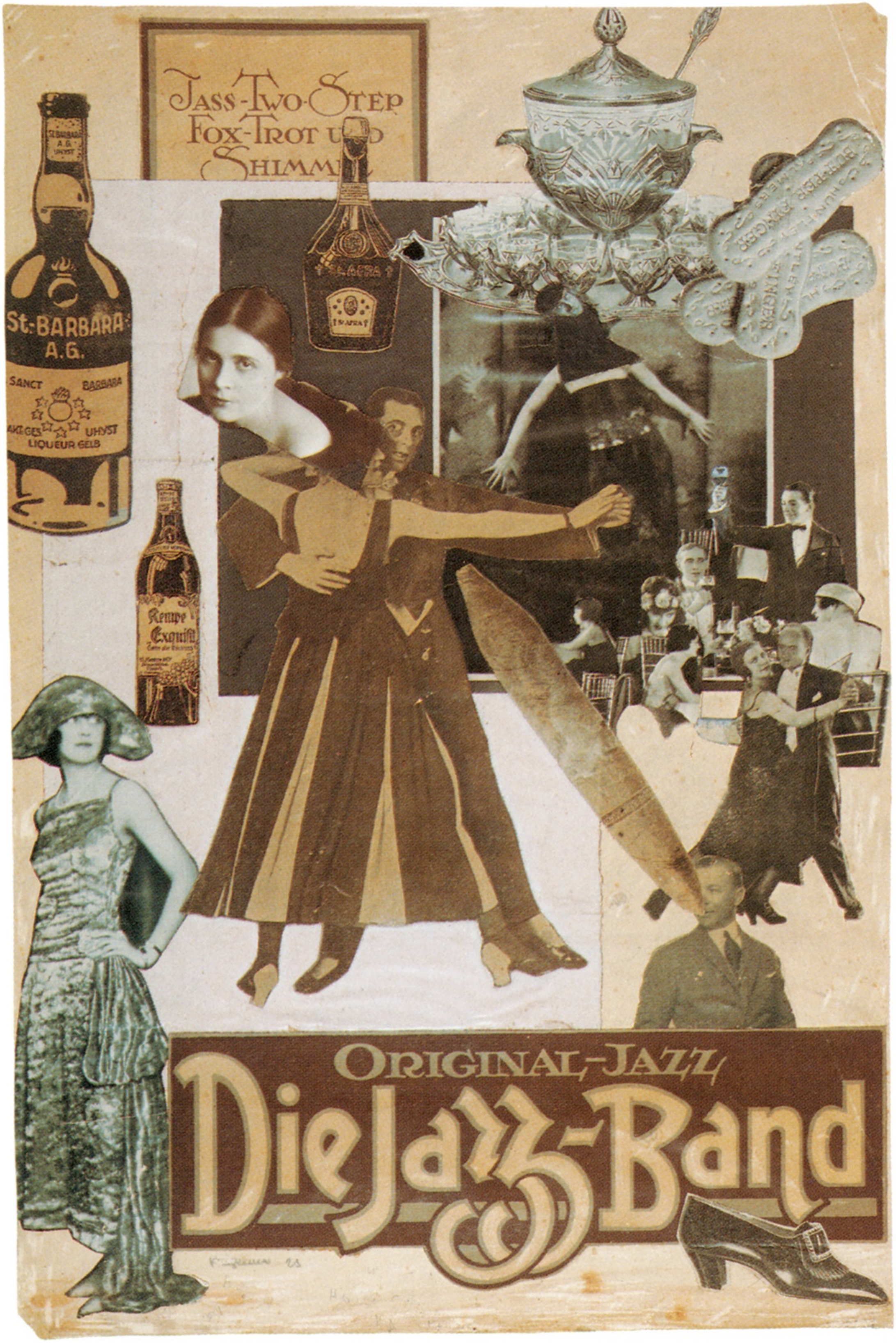
93 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky's poem *About This*, 1923


67-10
Родченко. 23.

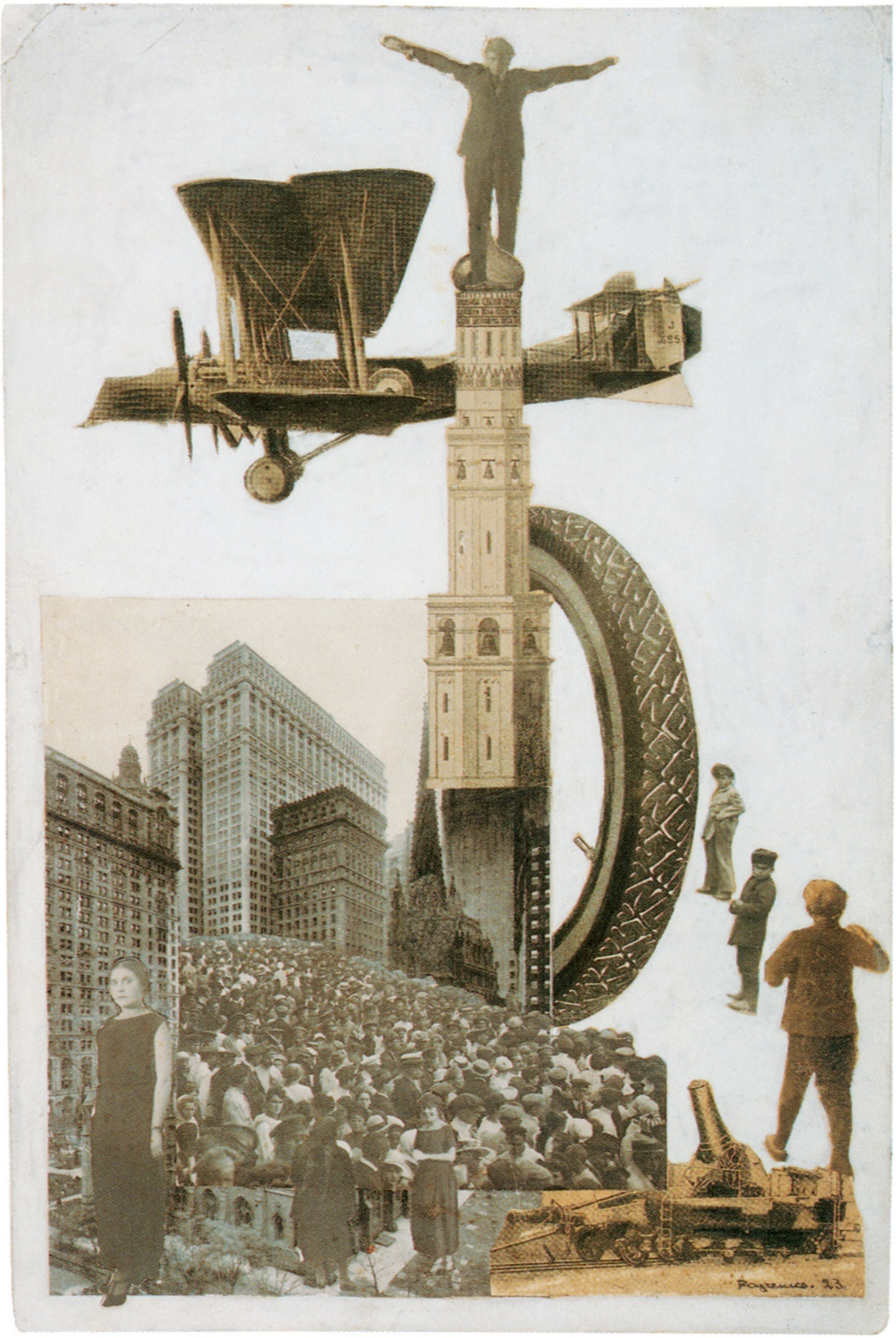
94 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923


ЕЩЕ
СТАКАНЪ
ЧАЮ.

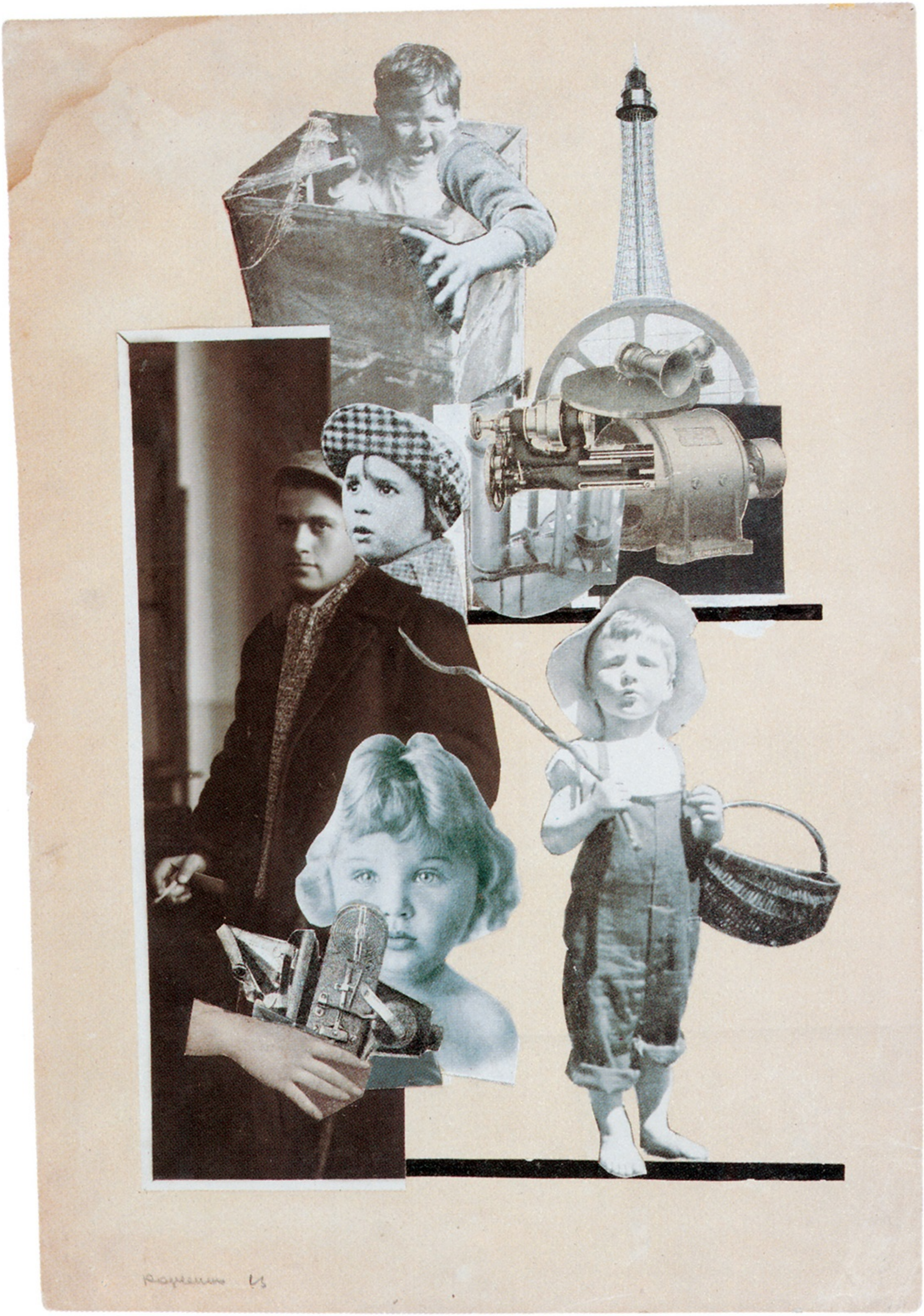
95 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923


Jass-Two-Step
Fox-Trot u
Shimm
St-BARBARA A.G.
SANCT BARBARA
AKT.GES UHYST
LIQUEUR GELB
ORIGINAL-JAZZ
Die Jazz-Band

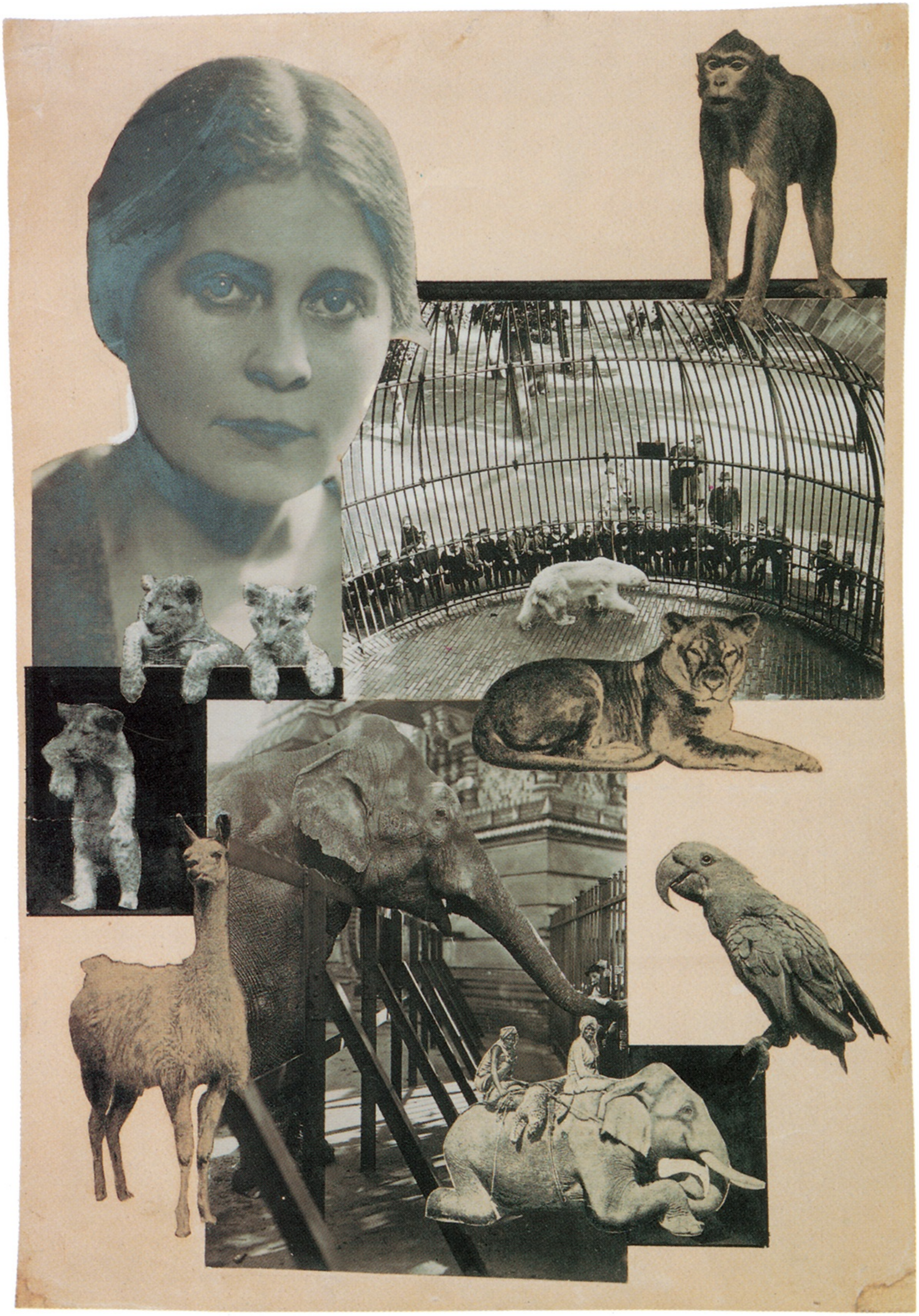
96 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923


Родченко. 23.

97 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923



98 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923



99 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages accompanying Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923

The photomontages, like the poem, move outwards from the particular, concentrated images of Lily to express the whole span of Mayakovsky's life and revolutionary Russia. His theme, Mayakovsky states, is love:

This theme will come
phone from the kitchen perhaps

The second photomontage shows him in his study, miraculously connected to Lily's phone across the whole width of Moscow.[**92**] The next picture integrates two long passages from the poem – Moscow under snow, and Mayakovsky imagining himself becoming a polar bear (for jealousy turns a man into a bear):[**93**]

yesterday a man
with one stroke alone
of my fangs my looks I polar-beared …
a white polar bear
on my ice-float pillow I float by

Rearing up at the top of the picture, he stands on a bridge over the Neva, seeing himself as he stood there seven years ago, and wonders why he did not commit suicide then:

on its sky-scraper piers
with aerial clamps it embroiders the sky
steel soared from the water a fairy scene
Higher, higher I lift my eyes …
There!
There – on the bridge's parapet he leans …

A more static image from the second part of the poem, ('Xmas Eve, Fantastic Reality'), expresses the bourgeois home to which Mayakovsky turns, with its monstrous accoutrements.[**95**] With horror he realizes that his host is himself:

my very I
Even Marx

harnessed in a crimson frame
A philistine load must tow just the same

The richness of the poem is obviously difficult to encompass in a single picture, but with counterpoint and juxtaposition Rodchenko creates marvellous equivalents. *Jazz* follows a series of images that start with a party and dancing, heard jealously but contemptuously inside Lily's flat: [**96**]

dancing scraping floors
… stamps into ears

It moves on to La Rotonde in Paris: 'the walls in a two-step broke'.

In the next section of the poem, 'An Accidental Station', he has seen his own body from the air, then lands on the tower above the canyons of the Kremlin; in 'recapitulating the past' he makes a cross with his arms on the tower, is challenged by his enemies ('whole glove-shops flung at me') and appeals:

I'm only poetry
only the heart

But in 'The Last Death' he is killed in a duel with 'point-blank fire' (the cannon points up from the bottom of the photomontage), and the poet's tatters become the red flag on the Kremlin and the brother of the Great Bear.[**97**]

The last two photomontages, from the third part of the poem, are quieter and simpler than the preceding ones. The first is retrospective, looking back on his childhood (the country child juxtaposed with the machines and radio tower of the modern city):[**98**]

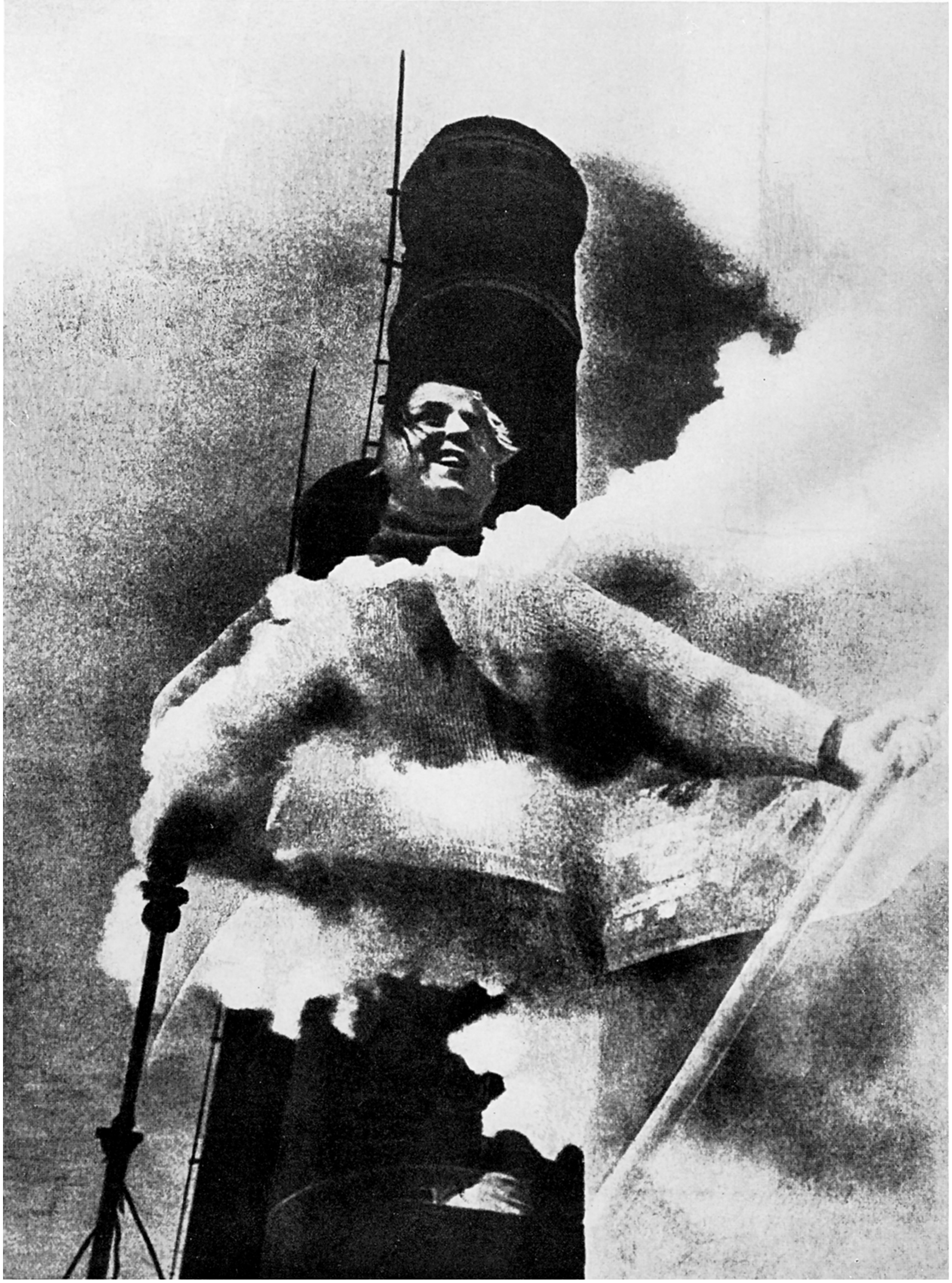
in the very depths
of childhood, maybe
I'll find ten days
fairly happy

The last looks into the future when, pleading to be resurrected, Mayakovsky offers to do anything, however menial.[**99**] He would even be a keeper in a zoo (‘do you still keep zoos?’) and imagines he might meet Lily again there (‘for she loved animals’), smiling like the photo on his desk.

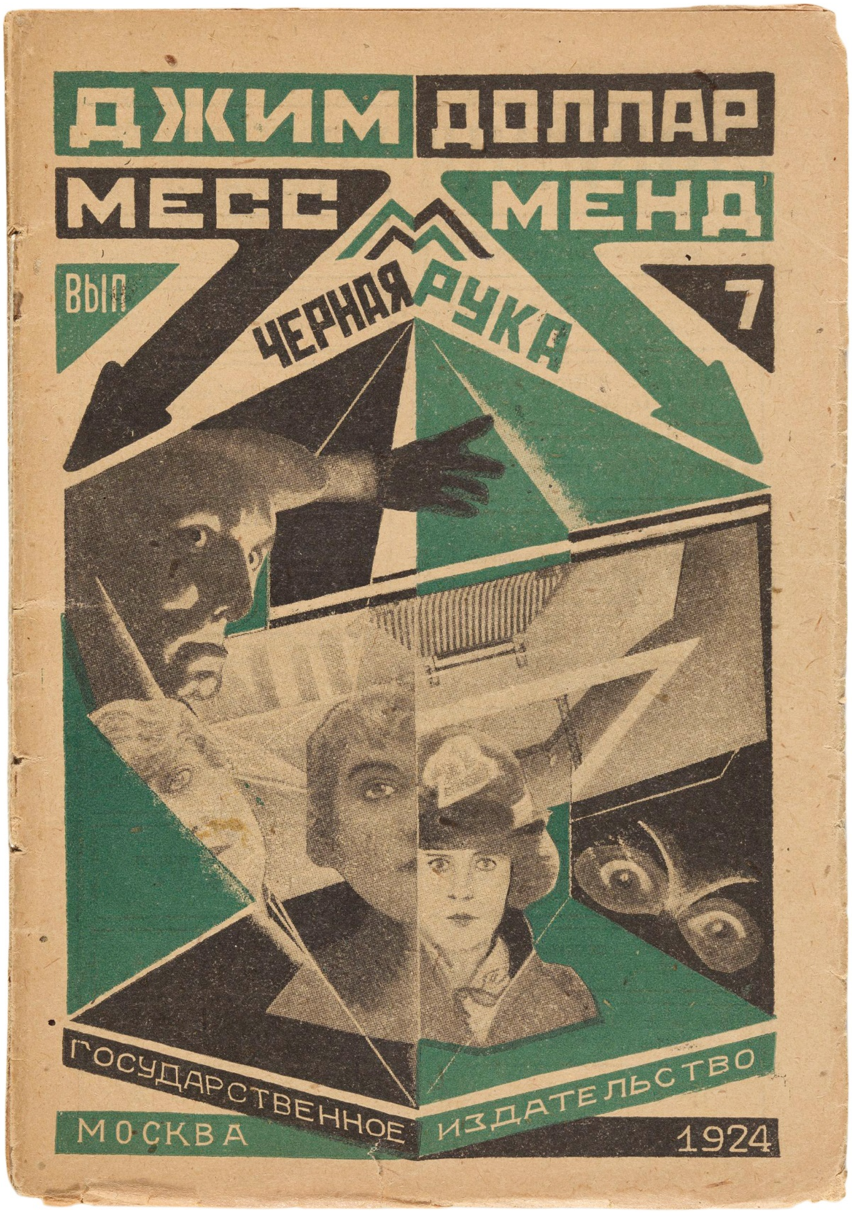
This book is one among several by Mayakovsky for which Rodchenko made photomontages. From about 1923 until well into the 1930s, the uses of photomontage were rapidly extended in the fields of commercial publicity and political propaganda, for posters, book covers, postcards, magazine and book illustrations and exhibition installations. Photomontage was often combined with new typographic techniques to make simple, bold and striking designs. As El Lissitzky said:

> *Most artists make montages, that is to say, with photographs and the inscriptions that belong to them they piece together whole pages which are then photographically reproduced for printing. In this way there develops a technique of simple effectiveness which appears to be very easy to operate and for that reason can easily develop into dull routine, but which in powerful hands turns out to be the most successful method of achieving visual poetry.*[35]

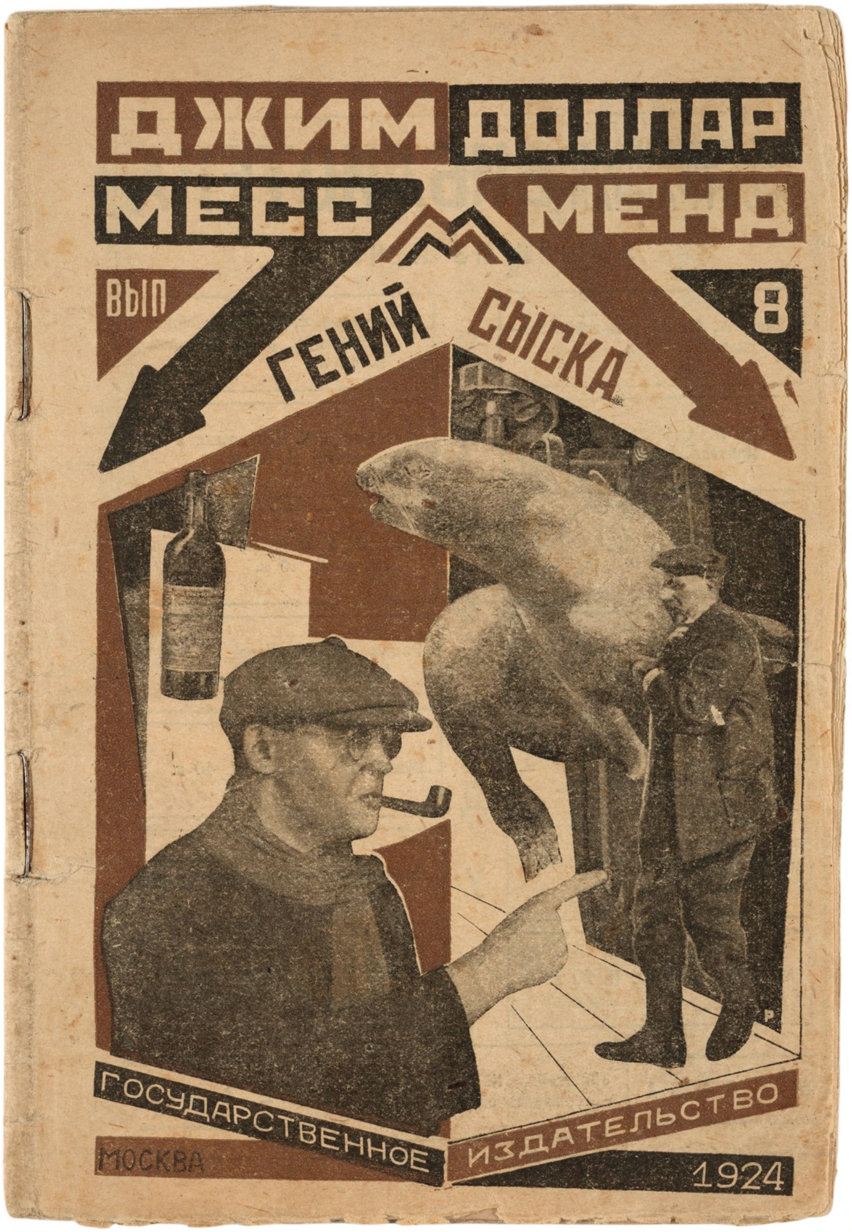
Rodchenko devised a standard cover design for a series of detective stories in 1924, into which different photographic images could be slotted. [**101**, **102**] The typography is incorporated into the design as a whole, which is governed by geometric forms; the visual impact, here and in many other examples, is underlined with the use of abstract typographical elements, arrows, blocks and lines, often of contrasting black and red. The emphasis was on clarity, simplicity and legibility in the lettering, as in, for example, El Lissitzky’s cover for Richard Neutra’s *Amerika*, which also uses photographic superimposition.[**103**] The use of plain, sans-serif alphabets was common to the Bauhaus, too, where he had close contacts. His ideas influenced a number of artists and designers, such as the graphic designer Jan Tschichold.



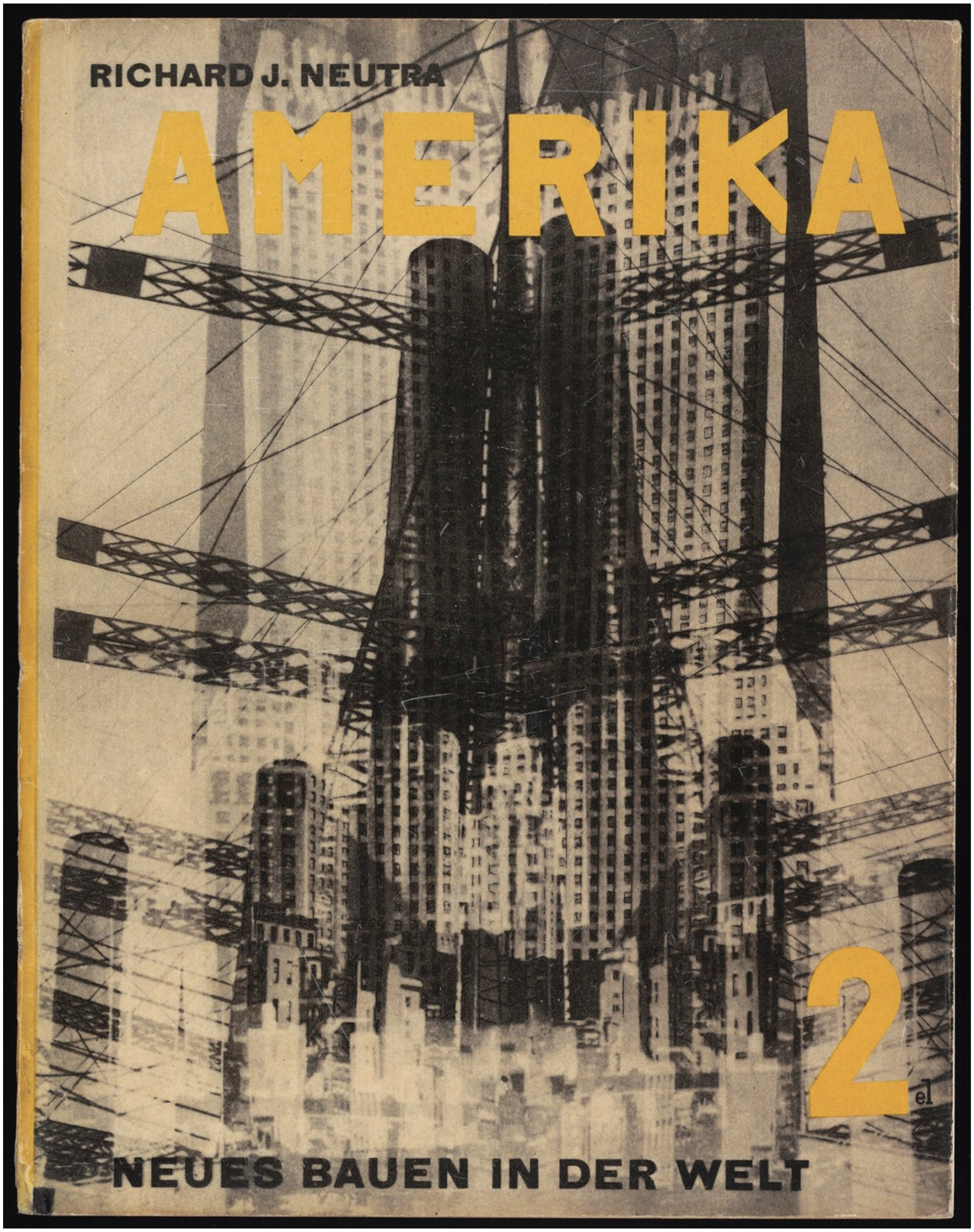
100 El Lissitzky, photomontage, 1931


ДЖИМ ДОЛЛАР
МЕСС МЕНД
ВЫП
7
ЧЕРНАЯ РУКА
ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО
МОСКВА
1924

101 Two versions by Rodchenko of a standard cover design for a series of detective stories, 1924

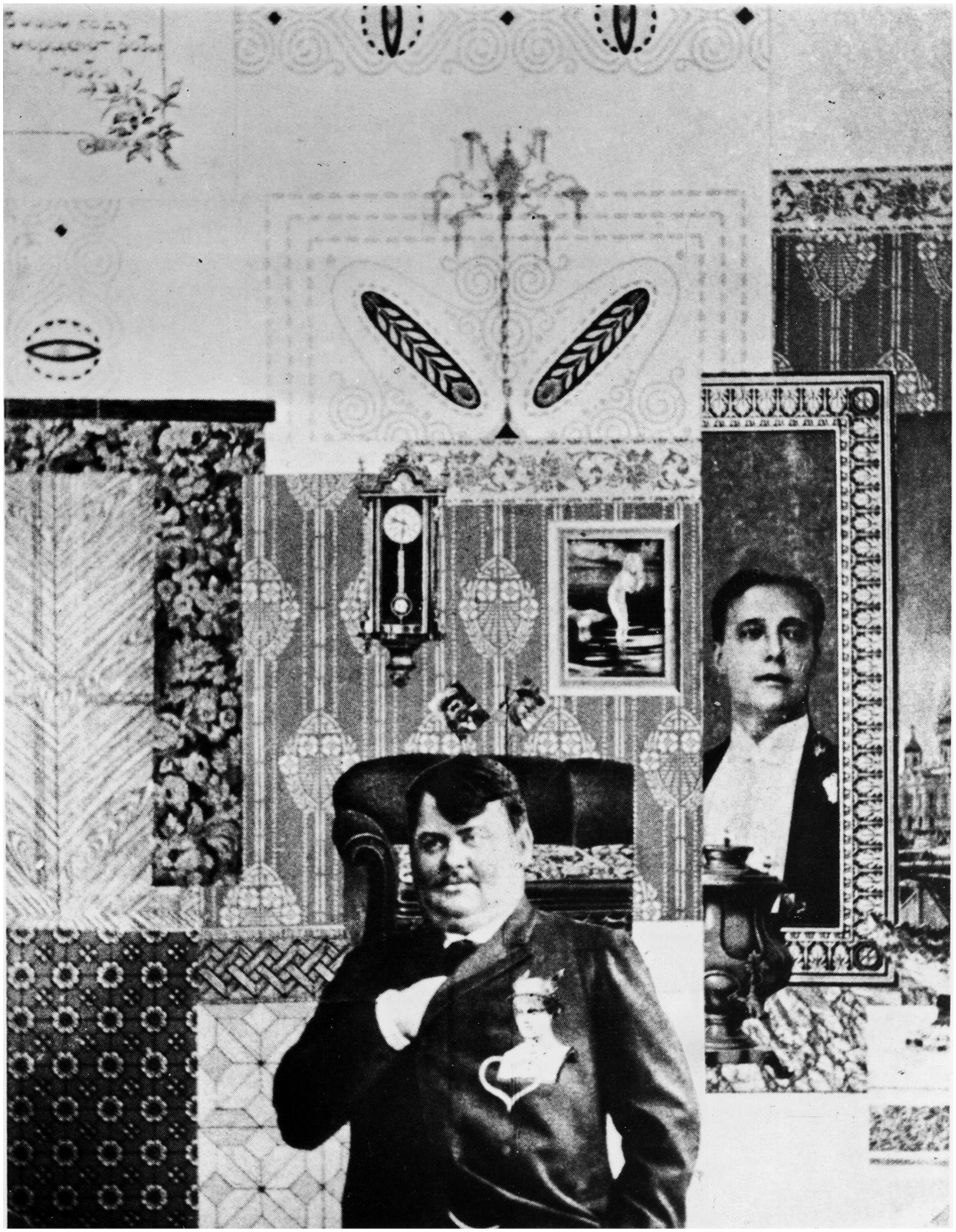

ДЖИМ ДОЛЛАР
МЕСС МЕНД
ВЫП
8
ГЕНИЙ СЫСКА
ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО
МОСКВА
1924

102 Two versions by Rodchenko of a standard cover design for a series of detective stories, 1924

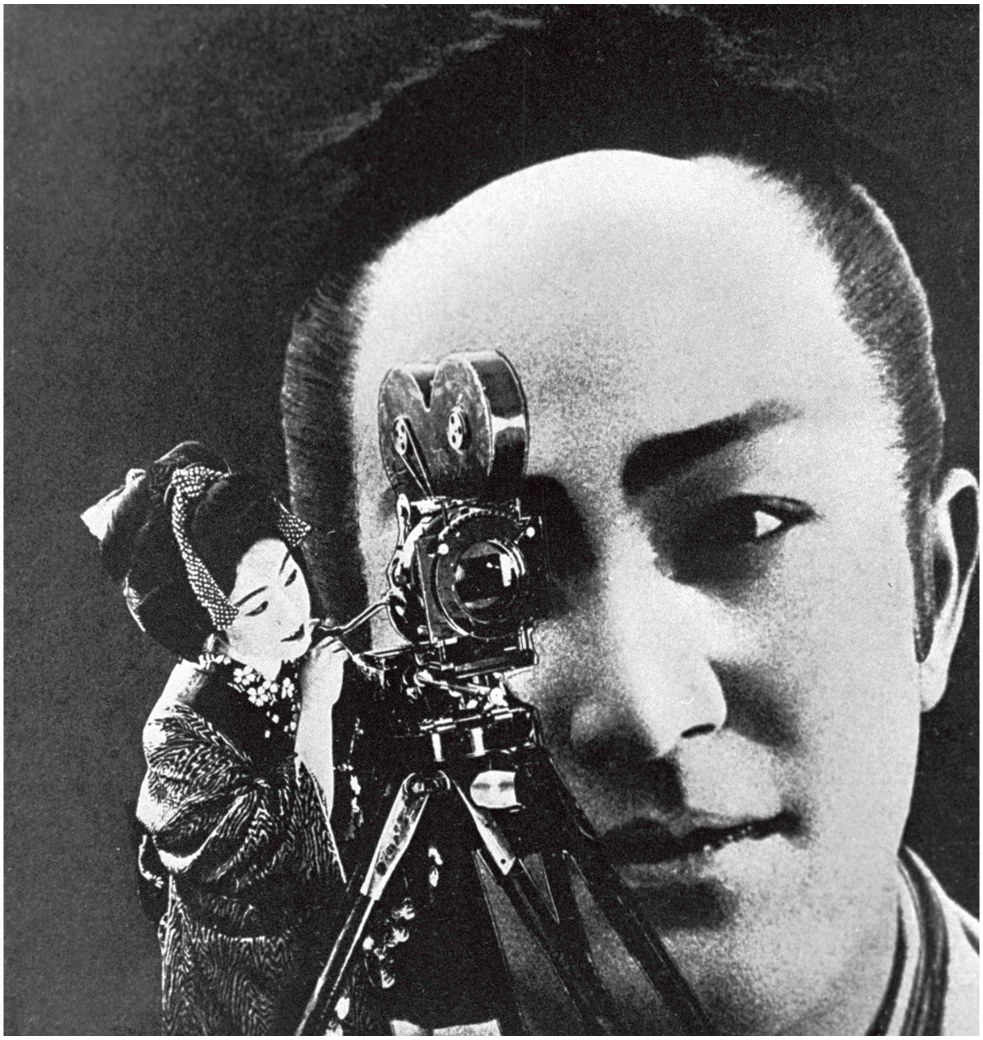

RICHARD J. NEUTRA
AMERIKA
2
el
NEUES BAUEN IN DER WELT

103 El Lissitzky, cover for Richard Neutra’s *Amerika*, 1929

Solomon Telingater started work as a typographer in 1925; he designed books, posters and typefaces, as well as making photomontages such as one for Feinberg’s *The Year 1914*, which reveals the influence of Alexander Rodchenko.[104] Rodchenko’s first work in industrial typography was the design, from 1922 to 1924, of film titles for Vertov’s ‘Kino-Pravda’ documentaries. He ‘approached these titles in a production spirit, treating them as part of the film itself, guided by its montage and scenario’.[36] This early experience of working with films must have influenced his photomontages, and indeed, the dramatic development of Soviet cinema has close parallels with that of photomontage. The use in film of dynamic, rapid inter-cutting, disrupting the unity of time and space and making comparisons and qualifications, and the use of alternating close-up and distance shots, overlapping motifs, double exposures and split-screen projection, all have equivalents in photomontage. Hausmann described photomontage as ‘static film’. El Lissitzky’s photographic montage for the Press Exhibition, in its organization of material and its ideological structure, is similar to the documentary films of Vertov and others.[**107**]

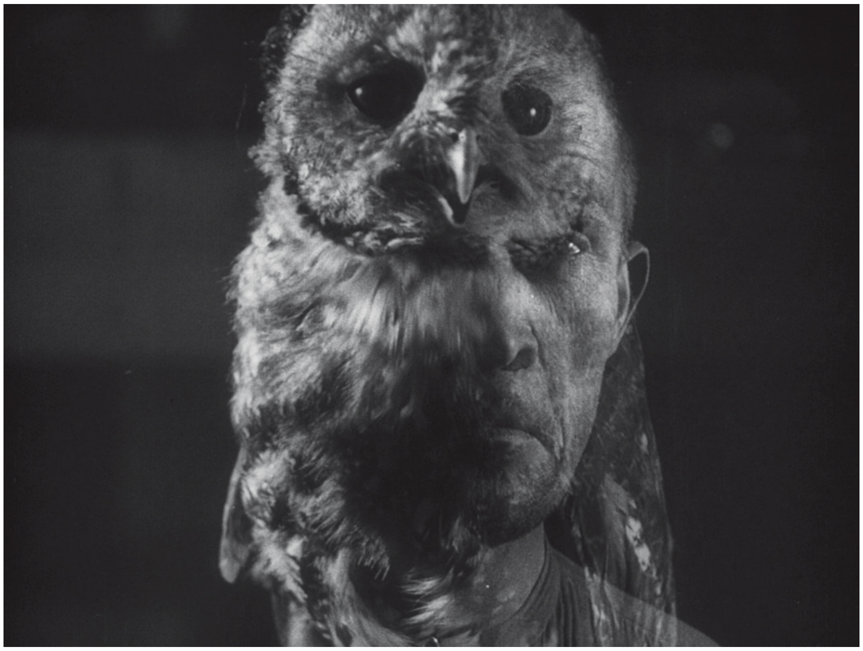


104 Solomon Telingater, photomontage for Feinberg’s *The Year 1914*, 1934



105 El Lissitzky, cover of the catalogue to the Japanese Cinema Exhibition, Moscow, 1929

Montage in film, in the basic sense of editing, was of course internationally established practice. Sergei Eisenstein experimented with a ‘montage of attractions’ in the theatre – ‘attractions’ in the vaudeville sense, juxtaposing unrelated acts and events.[**106**] The Russian filmmaker Kuleshov, however, was one of the first to develop a *theory* of montage, and his ideas are interesting in relation to photomontage techniques. He explained how he started from the simple fact that ‘every art form has two technological elements: material itself and the methods of organising that material’.[37] The methods of the cinema are very complex, but basically, Kuleshov assumes, its material is reality, and the structure given to it is all-important in determining how that reality is perceived: ‘The interaction of separate montage segments, their position, and likewise their rhythmic duration, become the contents of the production and world view of the artist. The very same action, the very same event, set in different places with different comparisons, "works" differently ideologically.' Kuleshov himself used to synthesize details of quite disparate objects to create a sequence – once he created the presence of a woman in a film by combining different features from several different women.

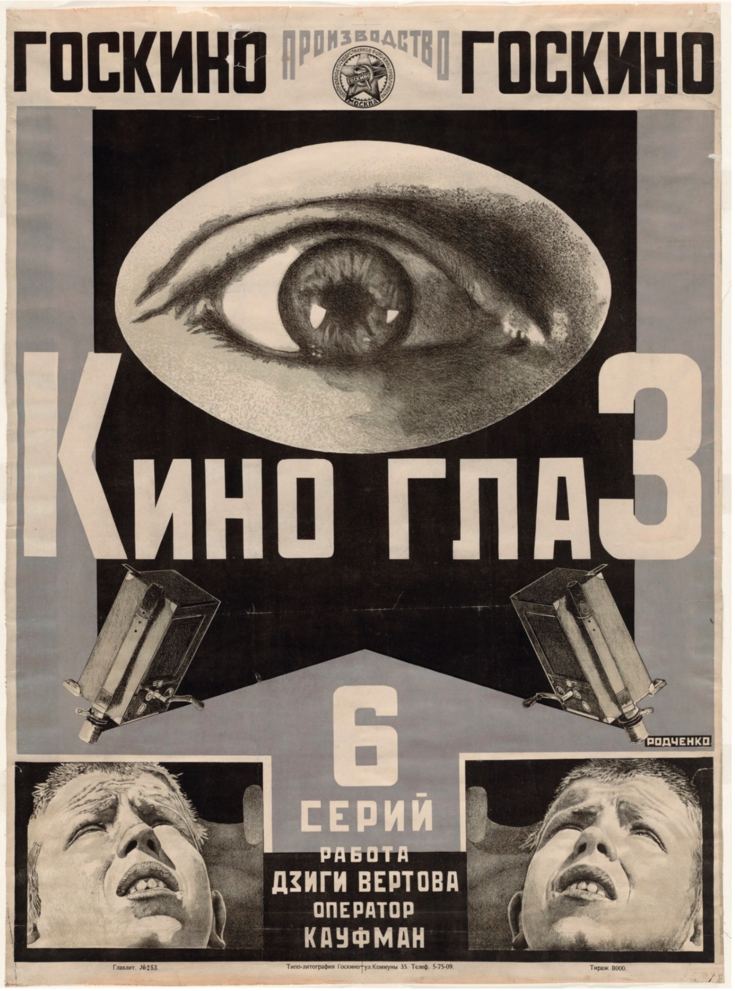


106 Sergei Eisenstein, still from the film *Strike*, 1924

107 Dziga Vertov, still from the film *Man with a Movie Camera*, 1928

Rodchenko made his first film posters for Vertov's *Kino-Eye* (1923), 'a full-length "fact film" intended to demonstrate the latter's theories of documentary montage', for which Vertov, his brother and his cameraman travelled all over the country, 'visited markets with concealed cameras, rode with ambulances to accidents, spied on criminals from behind windows, haunted the doors of beer parlours, danced with rejoicing collective farmers…'[38] to get as close to a sense of real life as possible.[**108**] In 1924, all film production in the USSR was centralized into a single organization, Goskino (after 1926, Sovkino). A separate department was set up for the production of film posters, called Reklam Film, and a stream of extraordinary posters followed, by artists like Prusakov and the Stenberg brothers, Vladimir and Georgii. Prusakov's *I Hurry to see the Khaz Push* (1927) shows a man on a bicycle, his head and body made of clips from the film he is hastening to see.[**109**] The Stenberg brothers made a number of posters on agitational subjects, like *To the Fallow Ground* (1928), as well as film posters.[**111**] They rarely used photography directly in their work, preferring to simulate its realism by working from photographs or from strips of film from film studios. Their work frequently resembles photomontage. One exception is their poster for Vertov's *The Eleventh*

(1928, a reference to the eleventh anniversary of the Revolution), in which the glasses ‘reflect’ images of heavy industrial production.[110]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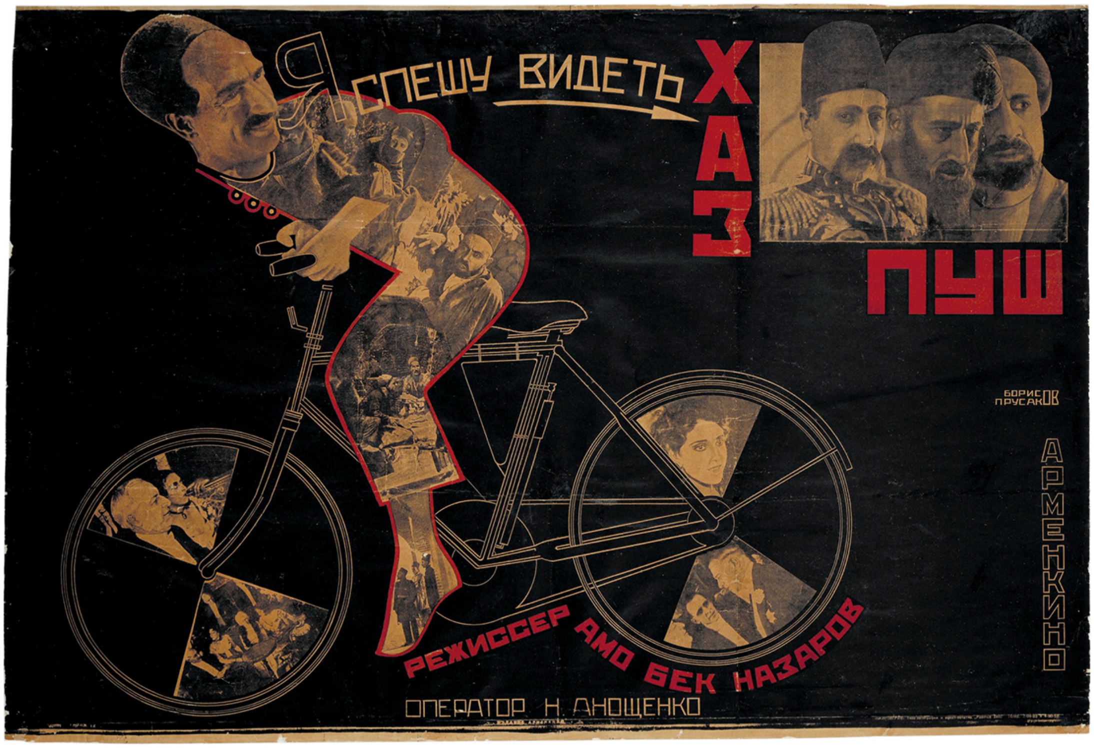
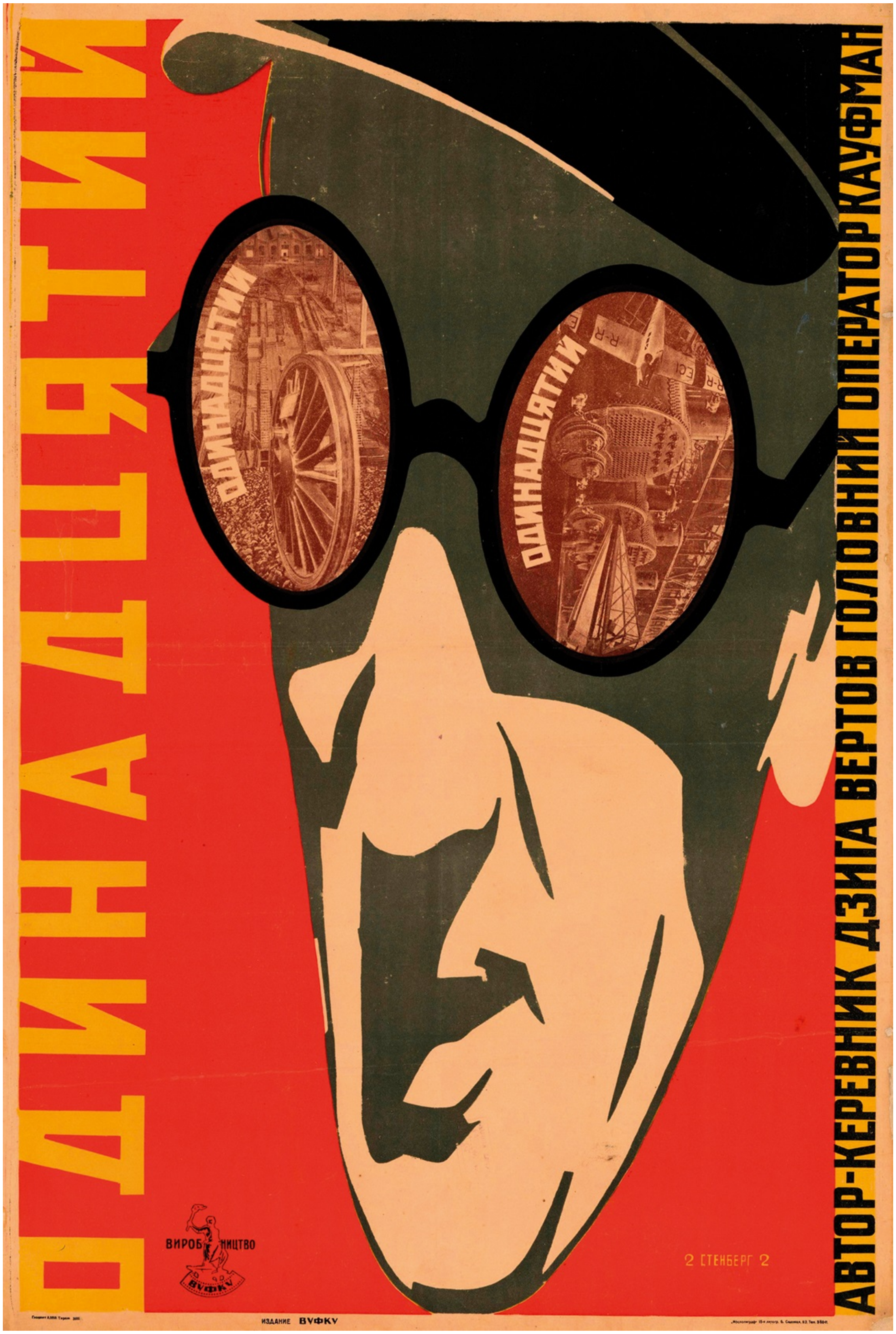
КИНО ГЛАЗ
6
СЕРИЙ
РАБОТА
ДЗИГИ ВЕРТОВА
ОПЕРАТОР
КАУФМАН
РОДЧЕНКО
Главлит. №253.
Типо-литография Госкино ул.Коммуны 35. Телеф. 5-75-09.
Тираж 8000.

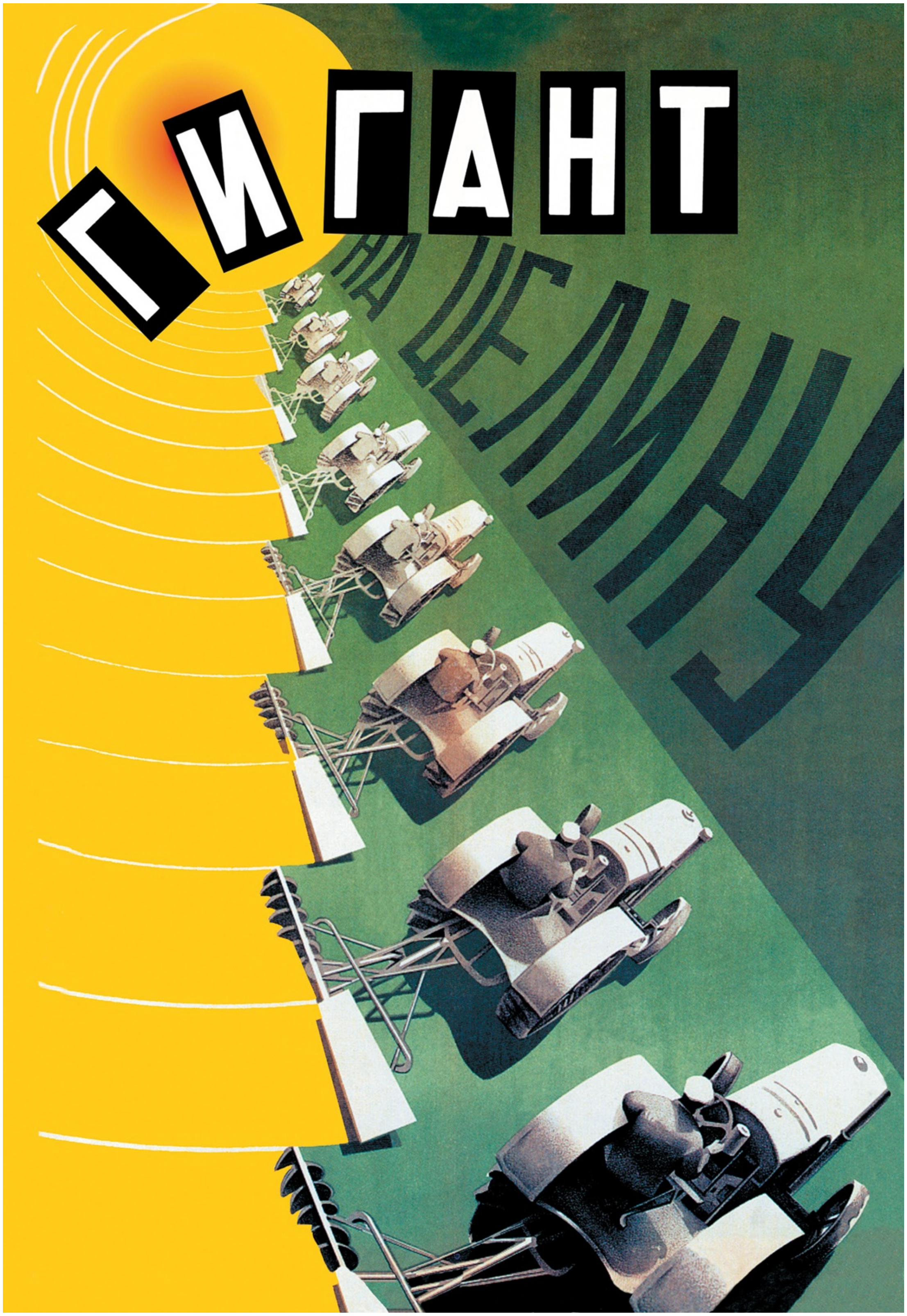
108 Alexander Rodchenko, poster for the film *Kino-Eye*, directed by Dziga Vertov, 1924


Я спешу видеть
ХАЗ
ПУШ
БОРИС ПРУСАКОВ
АРМЕНКИНО
РЕЖИССЕР АМО БЕК НАЗАРОВ
ОПЕРАТОР Н. АНОЩЕНКО

109 Boris Prusakov, *I Hurry to see the Khaz Push*, 1927

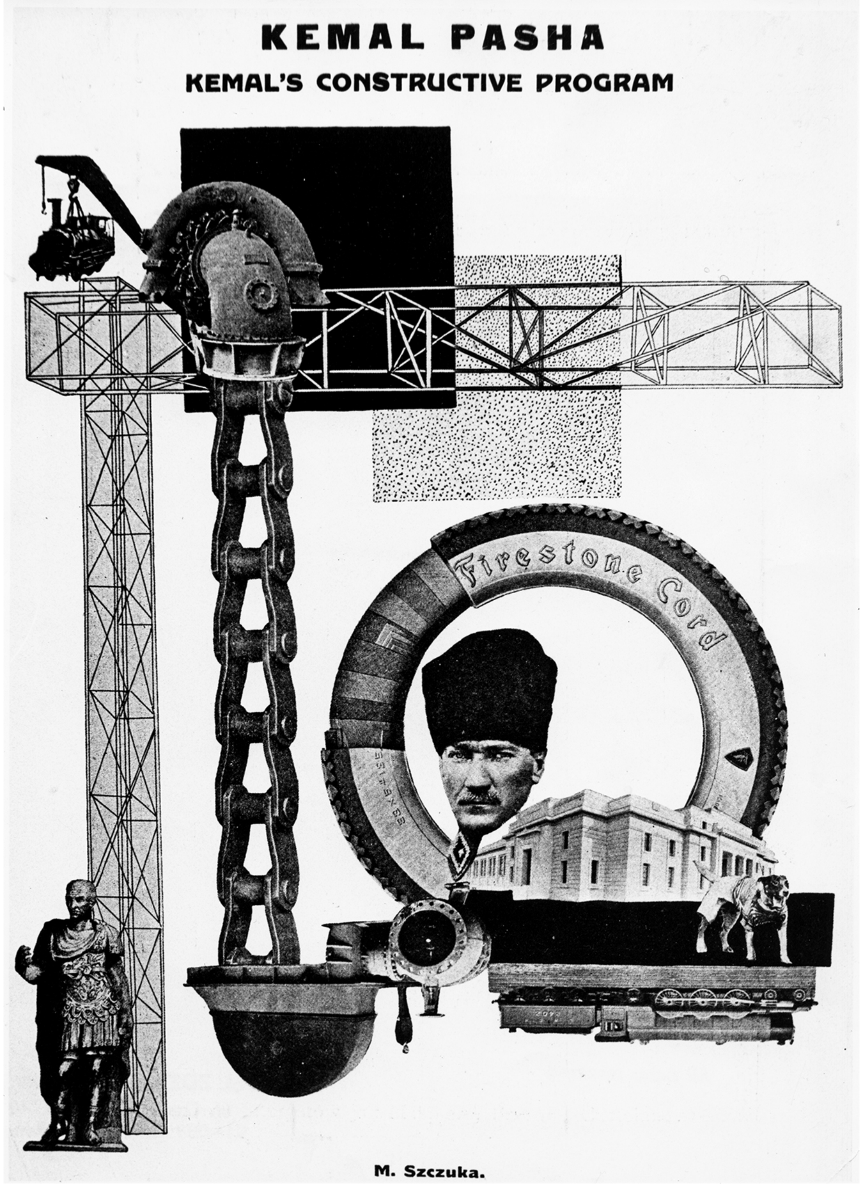

ОДИНАДЦЯТИЙ
ОДИНАДЦЯТИЙ
ОДИНАДЦЯТИЙ
АВТОР-КЕРЕВНИК ДЗИГА ВЕРТОВ ГОЛОВНИЙ ОПЕРАТОР КАУФМАН
ВИРОБНИЦТВО
ВУФКУ
2 СТЕНБЕРГ 2
ИЗДАНИЕ ВУФКУ

110 Vladimir and Georgii Stenberg, poster for the film *The Eleventh*, directed by Dziga Vertov, 1928


ГИГАНТ
НА ЦЕЛИНУ

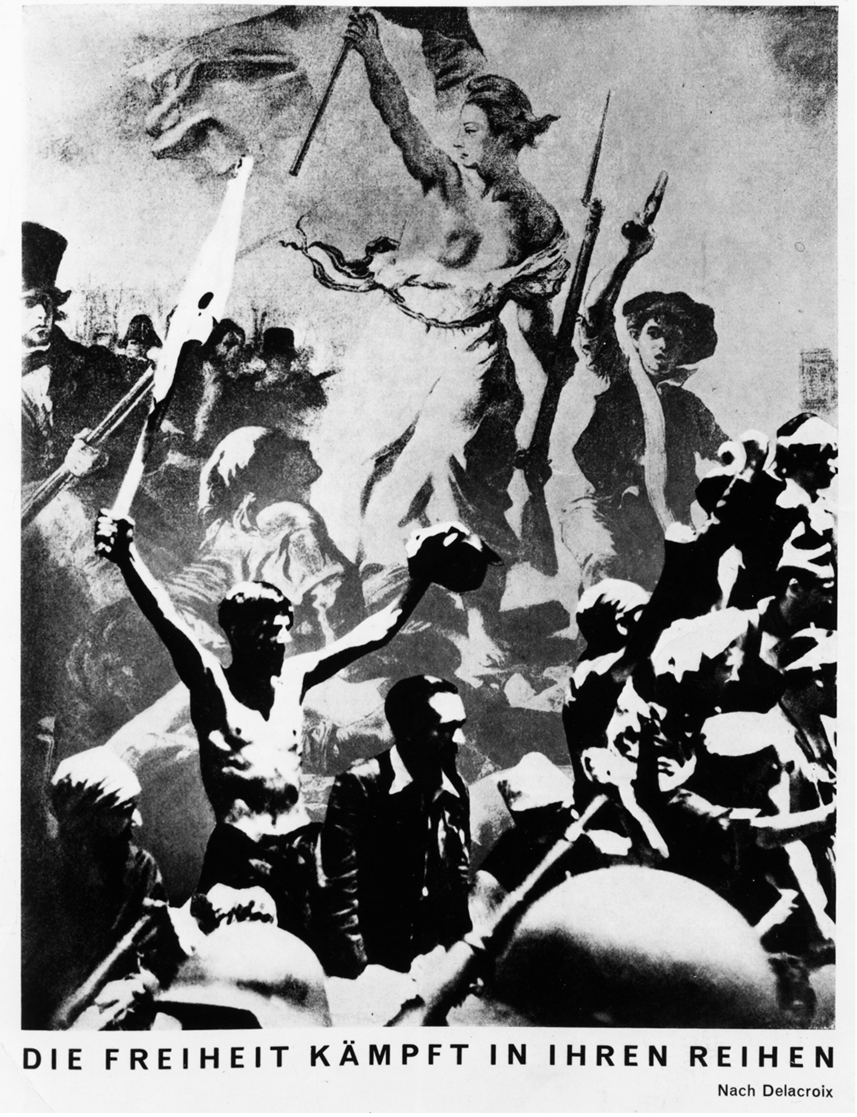
111 Vladimir and Georgii Stenberg, *To the Fallow Ground*, 1928

In Poland, where Constructivism was also an energetic force in art and design, there were interesting developments in photomontage. The Polish Constructivists centred on the Blok group, which included Wladyslaw Strzeminski, Katarzyna Kobro, Szczuka, Teresa Zarnower and Henryk Berlewi. In March 1924 the first issue of their magazine *Blok* appeared, with a geometrical layout influenced by the trilingual periodical *Veshch-Objet-Gegenstand*, edited by Lissitzky and Ehrenburg and first published in 1922. Szczuka, who introduced photomontage in Poland, abandoned abstract painting in favour of typographic design, photomontage and architecture. He wrote, ‘Photomontage brings about the mutual penetration of the most varied phenomena occurring in the universe…it brings an epic trend to modern art.’ Closer to the productivist wing of the Constructivists than to artists like Gabo or Malevich, Szczuka’s uncompromising position led to a split in *Blok*. His montage *Kemal’s Constructive Programme*, reproduced in *Blok*, no. 5, 1924, celebrates the modernization programme of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey.[**112**] It contrasts remnants of the classical past with symbols of the modern industrial world, in conception not unlike Klucis’s *Transport* poster celebrating railway construction, but lacking the dramatic contrast of the huge locomotive and the tiny camel-rider now rendered anachronistic by the engine about to crush him.[**91**]

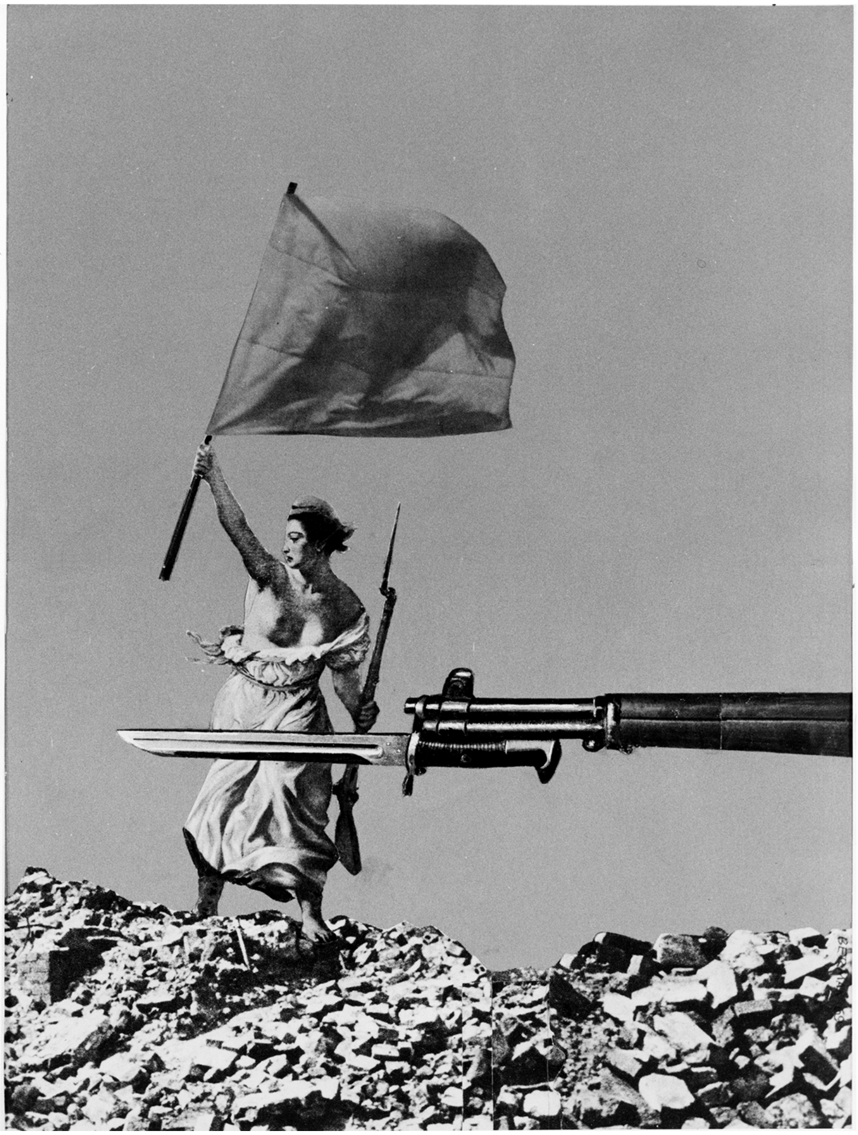

KEMAL PASHA
KEMAL'S CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM
Firestone Cord
M. Szczuka.

112 Mieczyslaw Szczuka, *Kemal's Constructive Program*, 1924

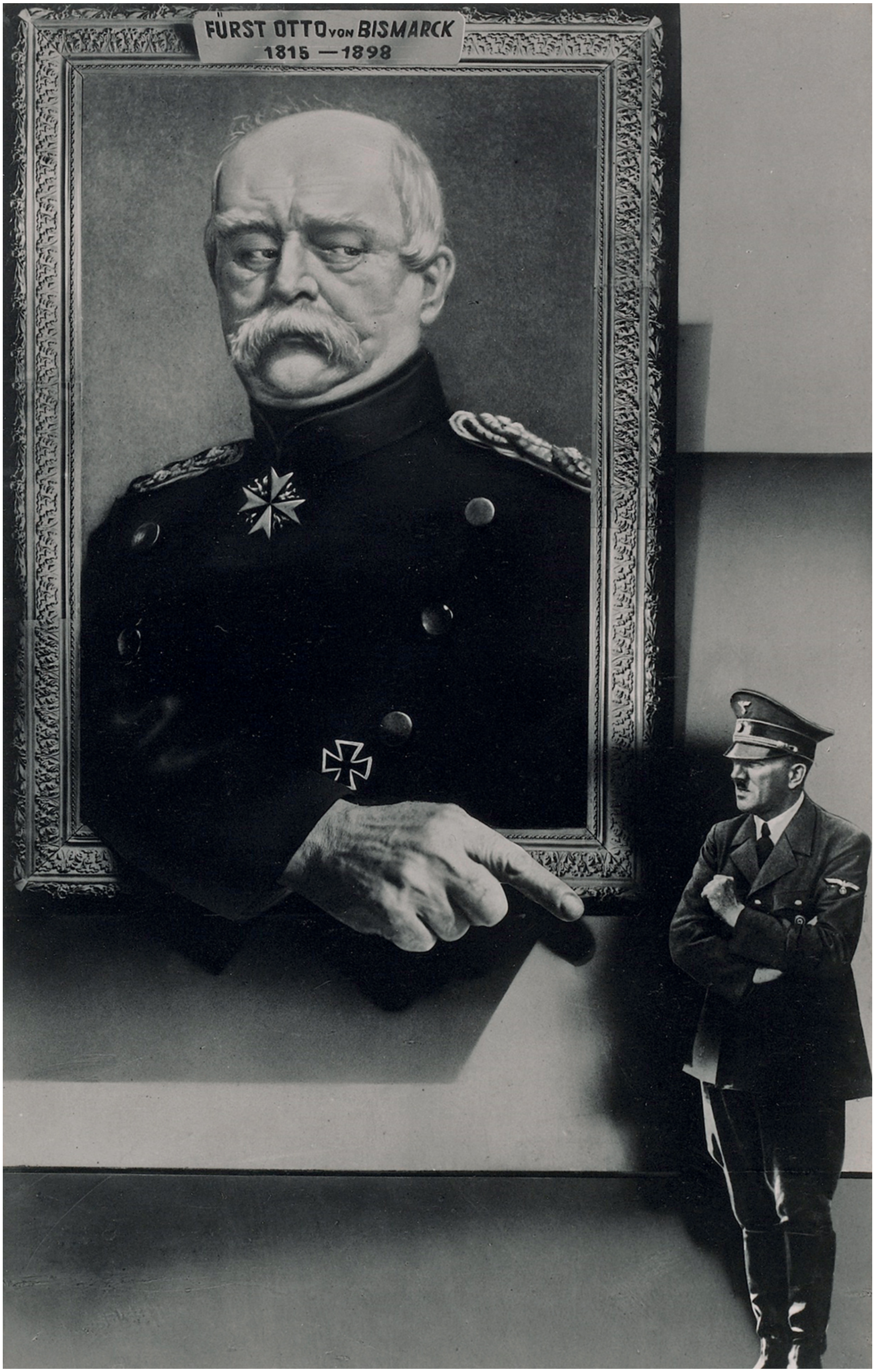
From about 1927, Mieczyslaw Berman combined photographs with a bold Constructivist design in works that show the influence of El Lissitzky and Klucis, and are often dedicated to the achievements of modern technology.[**114**, **116**, **119**] From about 1930, inspired by Heartfield, his photomontages become predominantly political and satirical.

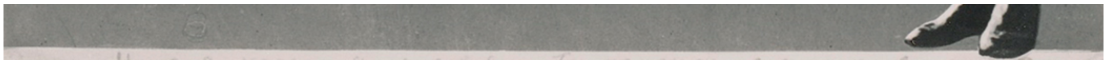

DIE FREIHEIT KÄMPFT IN IHREN REIHEN
Nach Delacroix

113 John Heartfield, *Liberty Fights in their Ranks* (after Delacroix), 19 August 1936

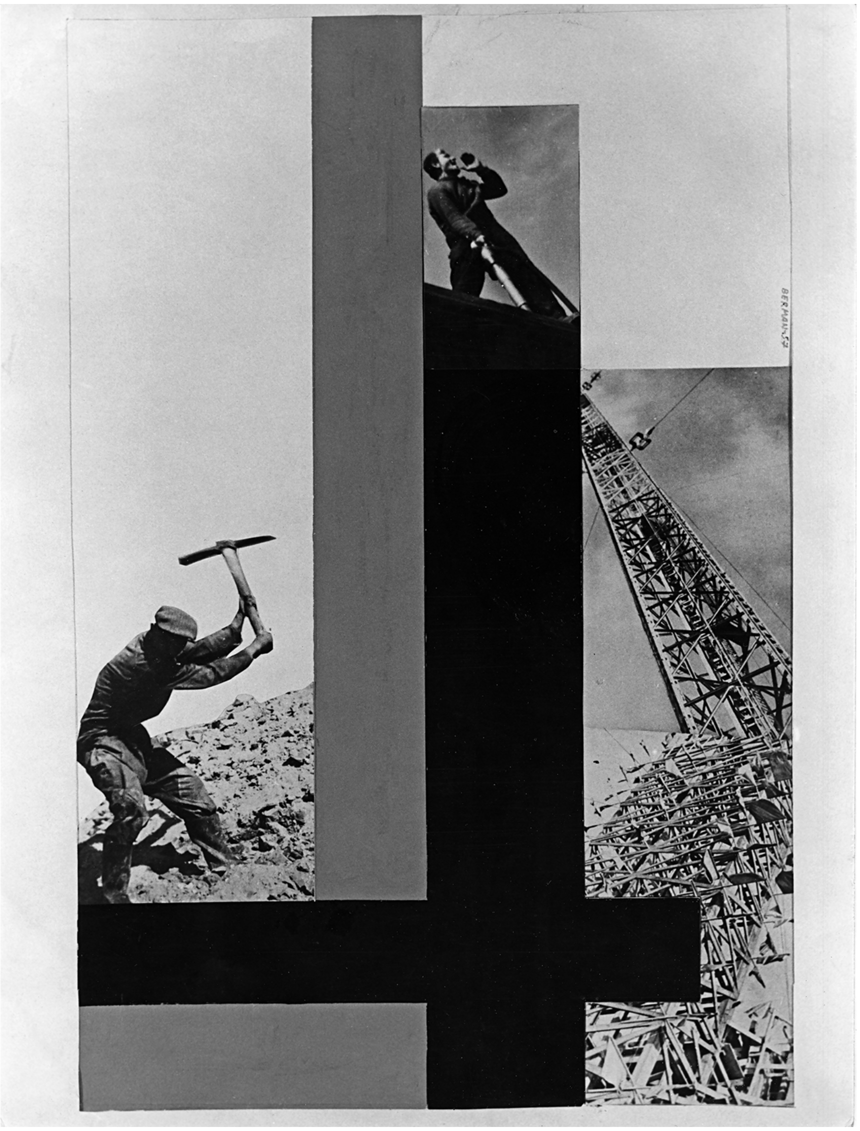


114 Mieczyslaw Berman, *The Red Cap* (after Delacroix), 1969


FÜRST OTTO VON BISMARCK
1815 — 1898



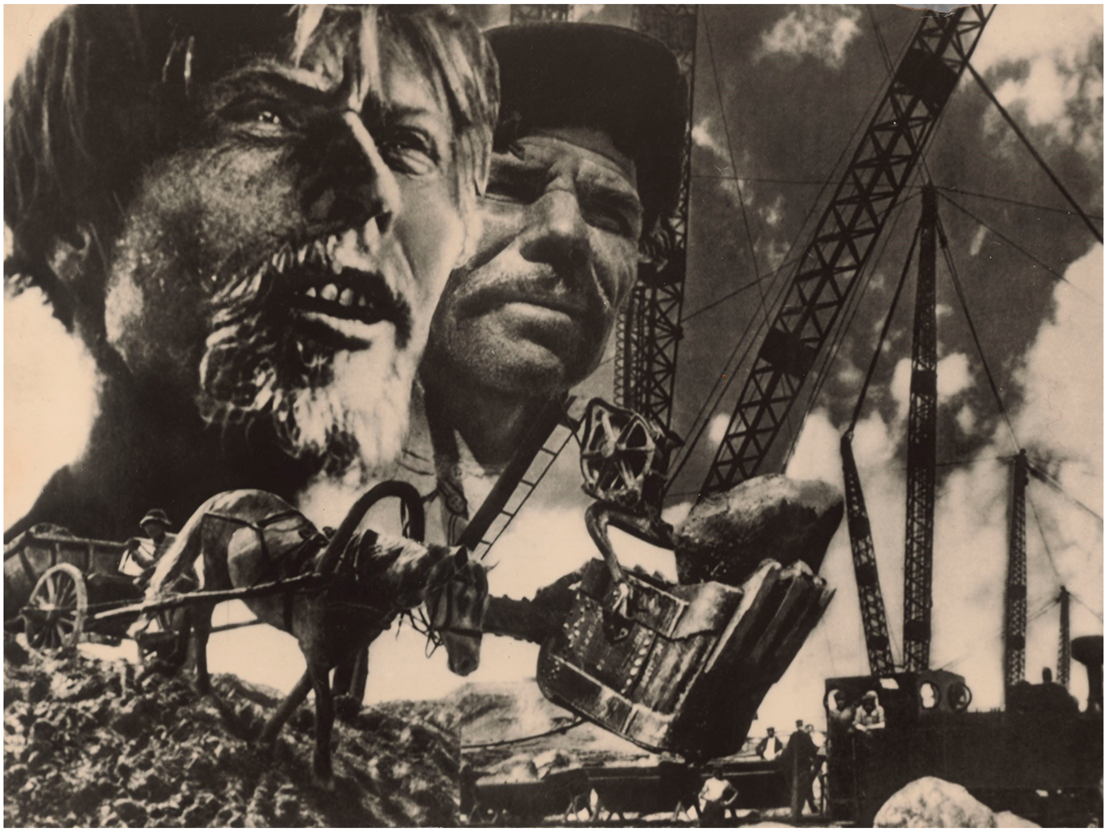
115 Alexander Sitomirski, *Here’s the Corporal who Generaled Germany into Catastrophe*, 1941



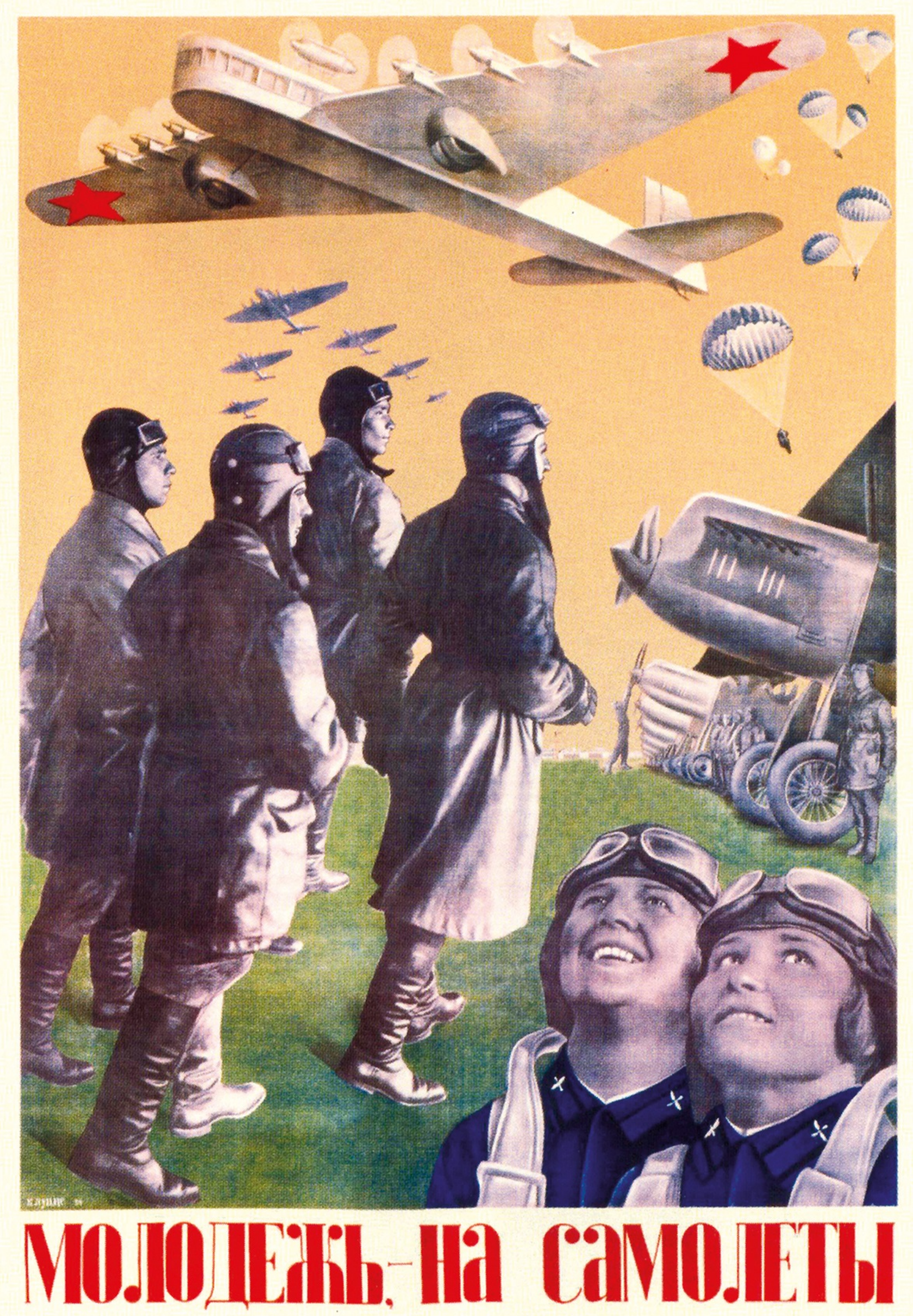
116 Mieczyslaw Berman, *Construction 1*, 1927

The use of photomontage in the USSR continued well into the 1930s, notably in El Lissitzky’s contributions to the journal *USSR In Construction* (1930–41), an impressive and profusely illustrated quadrilingual publication reporting on progress in different areas of the USSR, produced collectively by artists, writers and photographers.[117] Other artists, like Valentina Kulagina (who was married to Klucis), worked on posters and exhibition designs; her poster for International Women’s Day, or *Women Workers,* *Shock Workers, Strengthen Your Shock Brigades*, incorporates photographs and drawing.[39][**120**] Some worked in collectives, like the Brigade KGK, whose posters, like those of Klucis, reveal Constructivist roots, and like him favour the juxtaposition of a crowd or group scene and an enlarged or isolated figure, or an isolated, symbolic gesture – a hand stretched out or gripping a flag-pole, for example. Klucis, too, continued to make photomontages for posters (among other things) which still retain some of the dynamism, the sharply angled viewpoint, of the earlier Constructivist designs. Increasingly, though, the distinctive character of photomontage was submerged by the dominant pictorial heroic realism. Insofar as photomontage was a ‘constructed’ medium, with a non-organic character, it was condemned as Formalist. Although some artist-designers, like Klints and later Sitomirski, did follow the official line and took Heartfield, whose work was exhibited in Moscow in 1931, as model, photomontage never really revived after the Stalin era, and today, as Gassner argues, it is little more than a marginal branch of caricature.[**115**] It seems that a renewed taste for the decorative – a ‘bourgeois’ taste that Rodchenko had deplored and mocked in 1923 – contributed to its eclipse. This was the theme of a lecture for the opening of the Rodchenko exhibition held in Moscow in 1957:

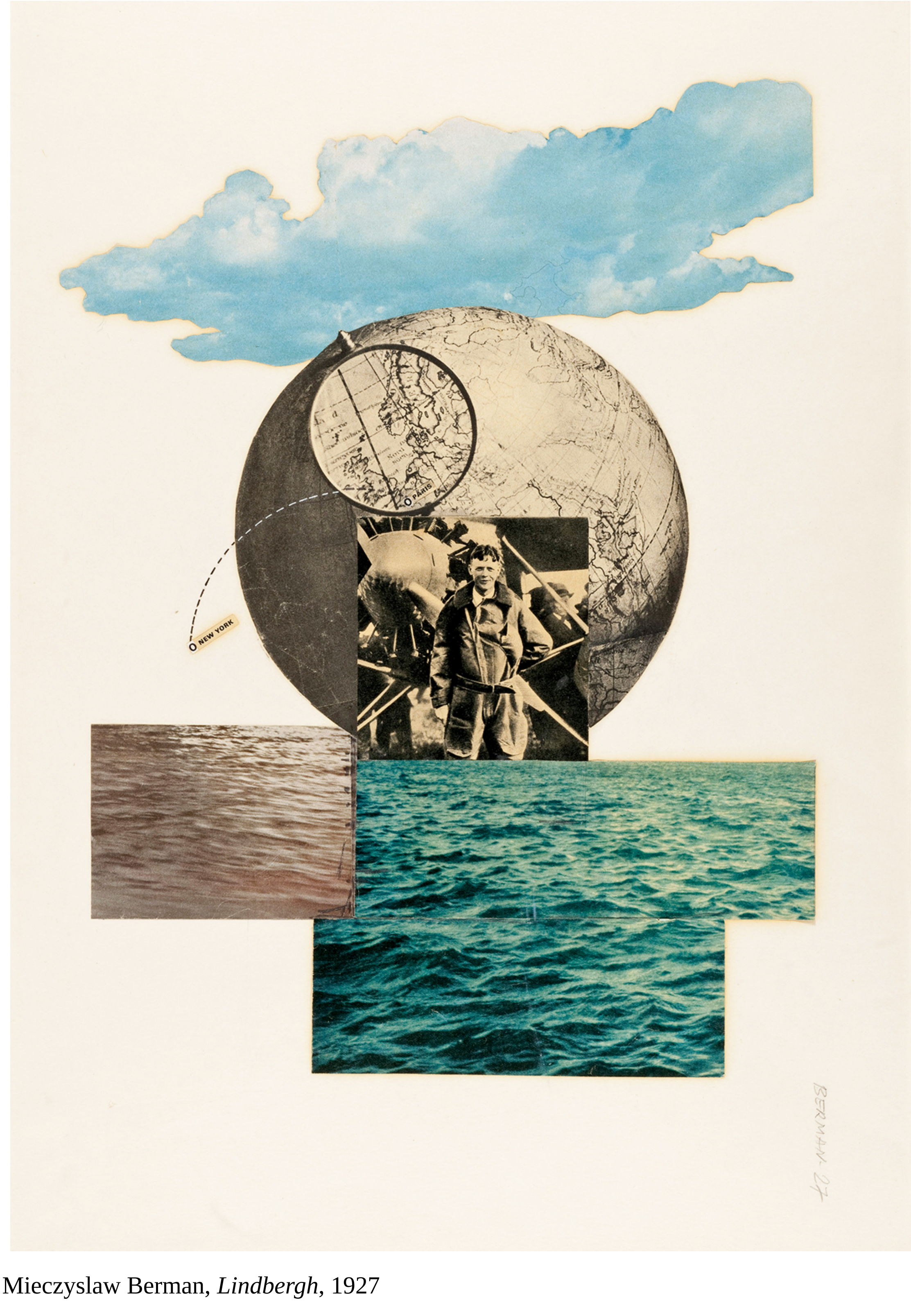
> *Mention is often made of the asceticism of the artistic left wing…. This was an asceticism of simplicity, a straight-lined asceticism which brought an end to ornamentation. Our departure from asceticism has led to the proliferation of middle-class art on a large scale. When I gaze on the posters and covers of Rodchenko, they seem to be the beginning of something which was never continued. It is sad that middle-class art, as personified by thousands of pink lampshades glowing in the windows of new flats, has managed to nip these early germs in the bud.*[40]



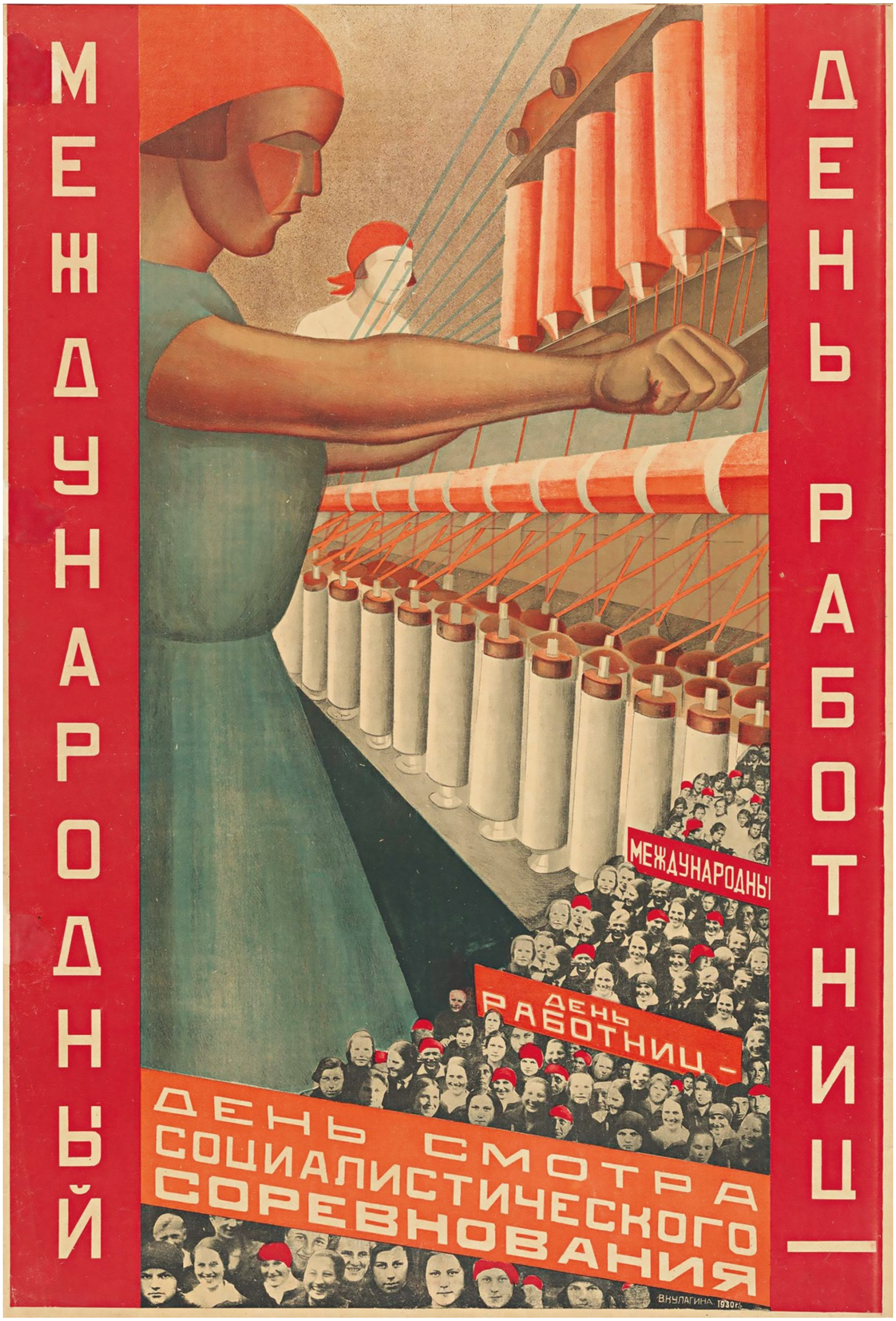
117 El Lissitzky, montage from *USSR in Construction*, no. 10, 1932, a quadrilingual journal reporting on progress in different areas of the USSR, produced collectively by artists, writers and photographers, 1930–41


МОЛОДЕЖЬ,–НА САМОЛЕТЫ

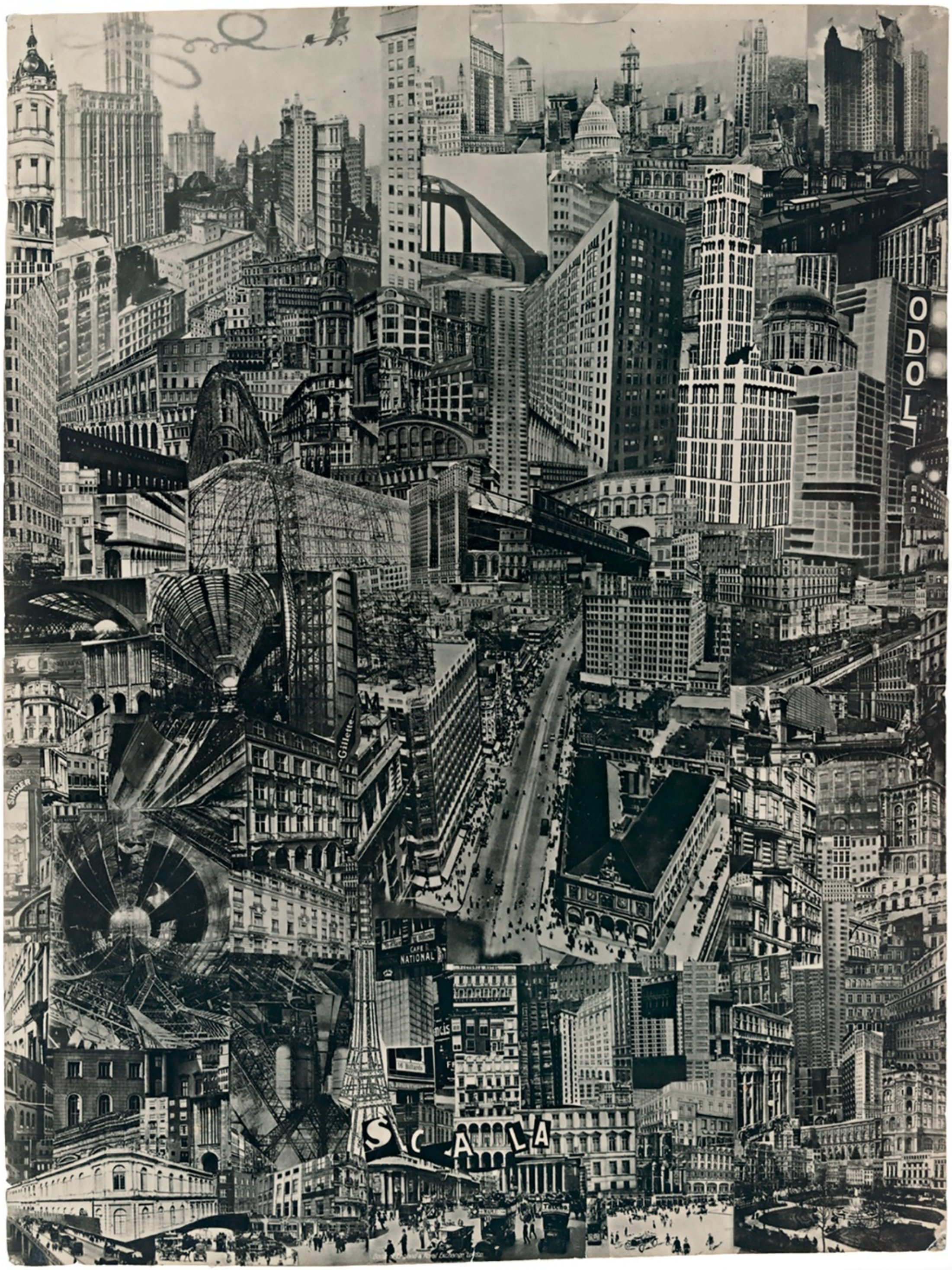
118 Gustav Klucis, *Youth – Into the Air!*, 1934


PARIS
NEW YORK
BERMAN 27

119 Mieczyslaw Berman, *Lindbergh*, 1927


МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ
ДЕНЬ РАБОТНИЦ —
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫ
ДЕНЬ РАБОТНИЦ –
ДЕНЬ СМОТРА СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОГО СОРЕВНОВАНИЯ
В.КУЛАГИНА 1930г.

120 Valentina Kulagina, *Women Workers, Shock Workers, Strengthen Your Shock Brigades*, poster for *International Women's Day*, 1930


ODOL
Gillette
CAFE NATIONAL
SCALA

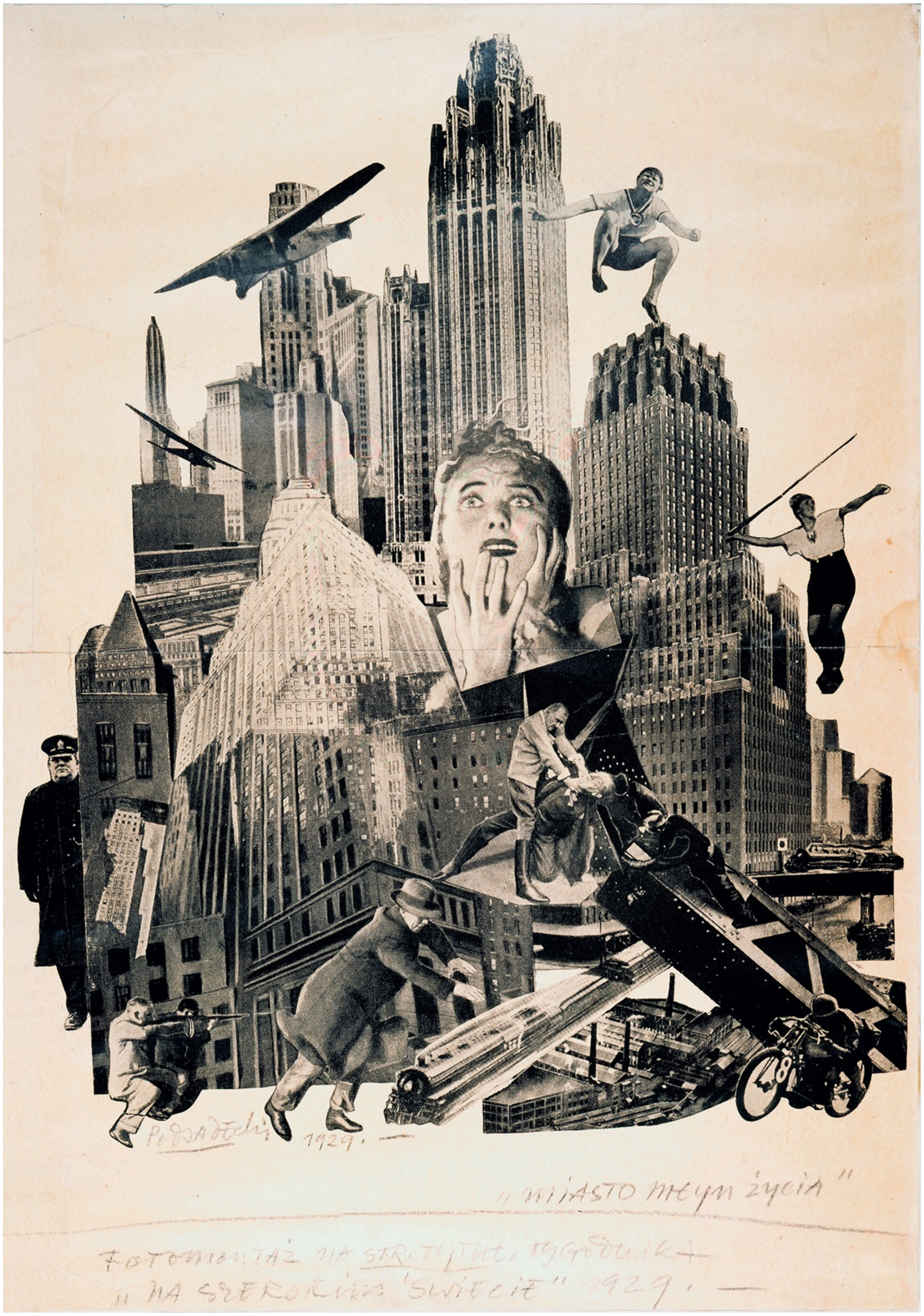
121 Paul Citroën, *Metropolis*, 1923

Chapter 2

Metropolis: The Vision of the Future

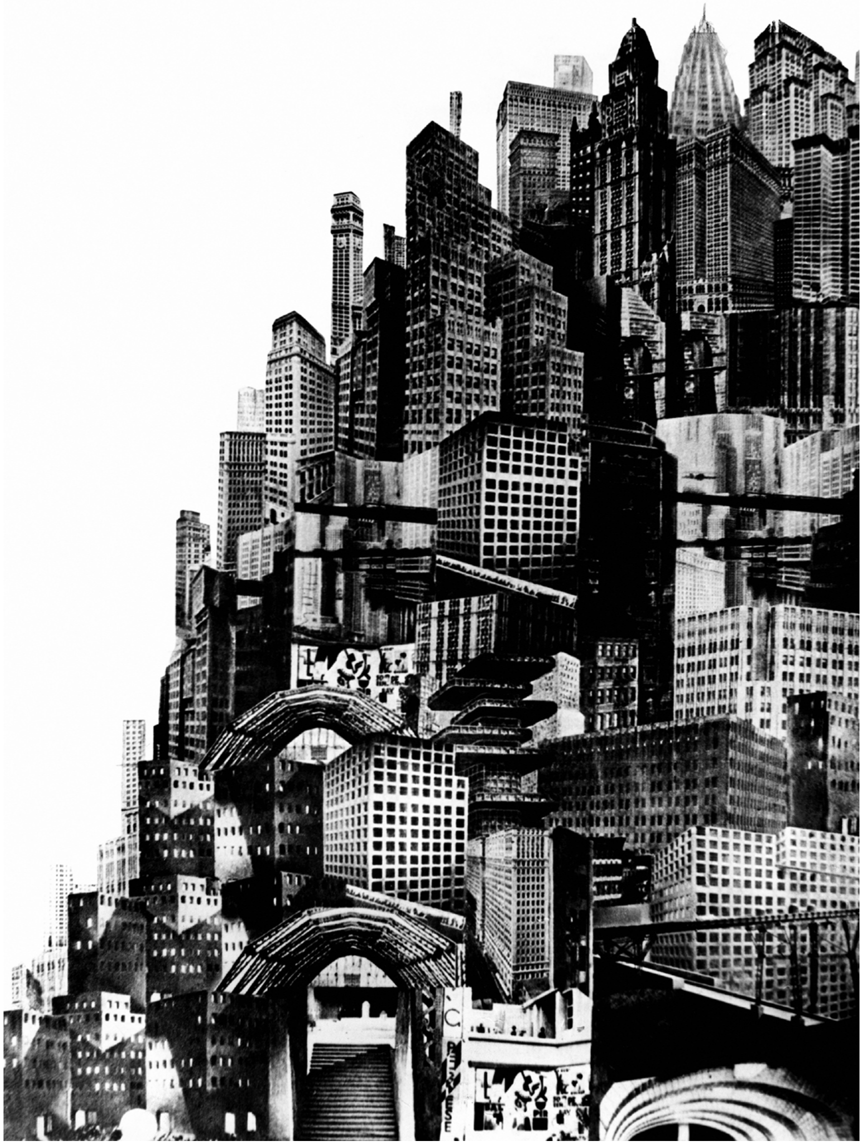
We will sing of great crowds excited by work, by pleasure and by riot; we will sing of the multicoloured, polyphonic tides of revolution in the modern capitals; we will sing of the vibrant nightly fervour of arsenals and shipyards blazing with violent electric moons…and the sleek flight of planes whose propellers chatter in the wind like banners and seem to cheer like an enthusiastic crowd.[1]

Energetic and pulsating as they can be, Futurist paintings never fully matched the heroic vision of the modern world evoked by Marinetti in *The Manifesto of Futurism* (1909). The violent changes of scale and simultaneous perceptions of different things implicit in the vision of the Futurist city were, however, ideal matter for photomontage. The contrast between the surging masses in the city and its gigantic buildings, the sense of exhilaration in their very dominance, and the beginning of panic with the realization that the city with its buildings and machines can no longer be experienced as an extension of man, but is moving swiftly out of control and into a life of its own, are all expressed in the piled images of Citroën's *Metropolis* or Podsadecki's *Modern City: melting pot of life* (1928).[**121**, **122**]

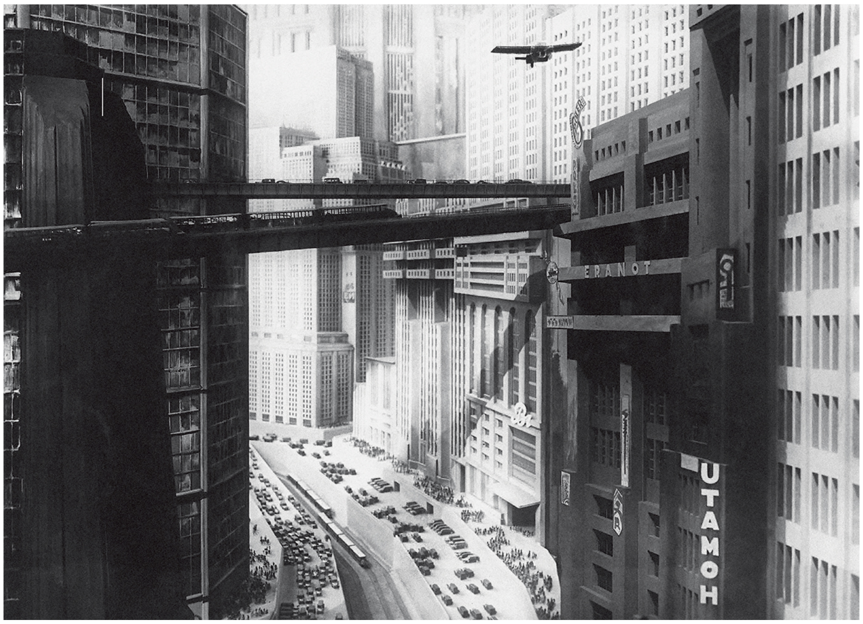

Podsadecki 1929. —
„Miasto młyn życia"
Fotomontaż na str. tytuł. tygodnika
„Na szerokim świecie" 1929. —

122 Kazimierz Podsadecki, *Modern City: melting pot of life*, 1928

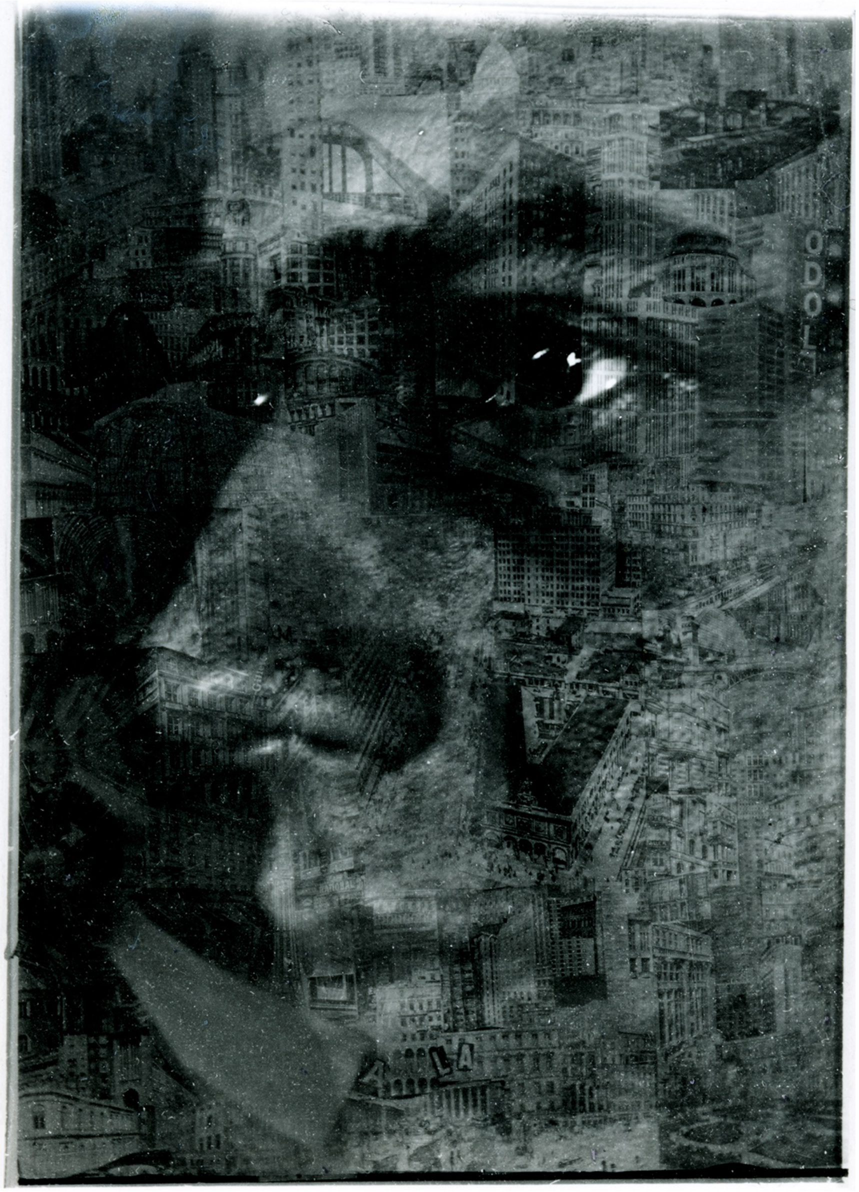
Paul Citroën made his first *City* montages in 1919, pasted together from cut-up photographs and postcards of houses, windows, staircases and streets. He had been in contact with Berlin Dada, and from 1922 to 1925 was a student at the Weimar Bauhaus, where in 1923 he made his *Metropolis* series. There is an impression of dizzying space in these pictures, with the bird’s-eye view of a street racing back into the distance in the centre, surrounded by steeply angled perspectives of buildings that stretch away as far as the eye can see. Citroën’s work was perhaps an inspiration for Fritz Lang’s film of the same title, a nightmare moral fable of a future society where only the rich live above ground.[**123, 124**] The skyscraper city in the film, with planes flying between the buildings, was a maquette with close similarities to Citroën’s *Metropolis*.[**124**] The montage of scenes from Walter Ruttmann’s film *Berlin* (1927), meanwhile, suggests the clockwork rhythm of the city.[**126**] One building looms up at such a sharp unnatural angle that it looks, ironically, more like a cathedral spire than an office block. By contrast with this work and with Podsadecki’s, Citroën’s, in spite of its breathless obsessional quality, is built up in ordered squares, so that there is almost a horizon line formed by an even series of joins across the centre of the picture. Within this vertical-horizontal grid, which anticipates Mondrian’s *Broadway Boogie Woogie* (1942–43), each square acts like a window with its own vista; the effect is as powerful as the more obviously dynamic diagonal constructions of Podsadecki and Ruttmann.



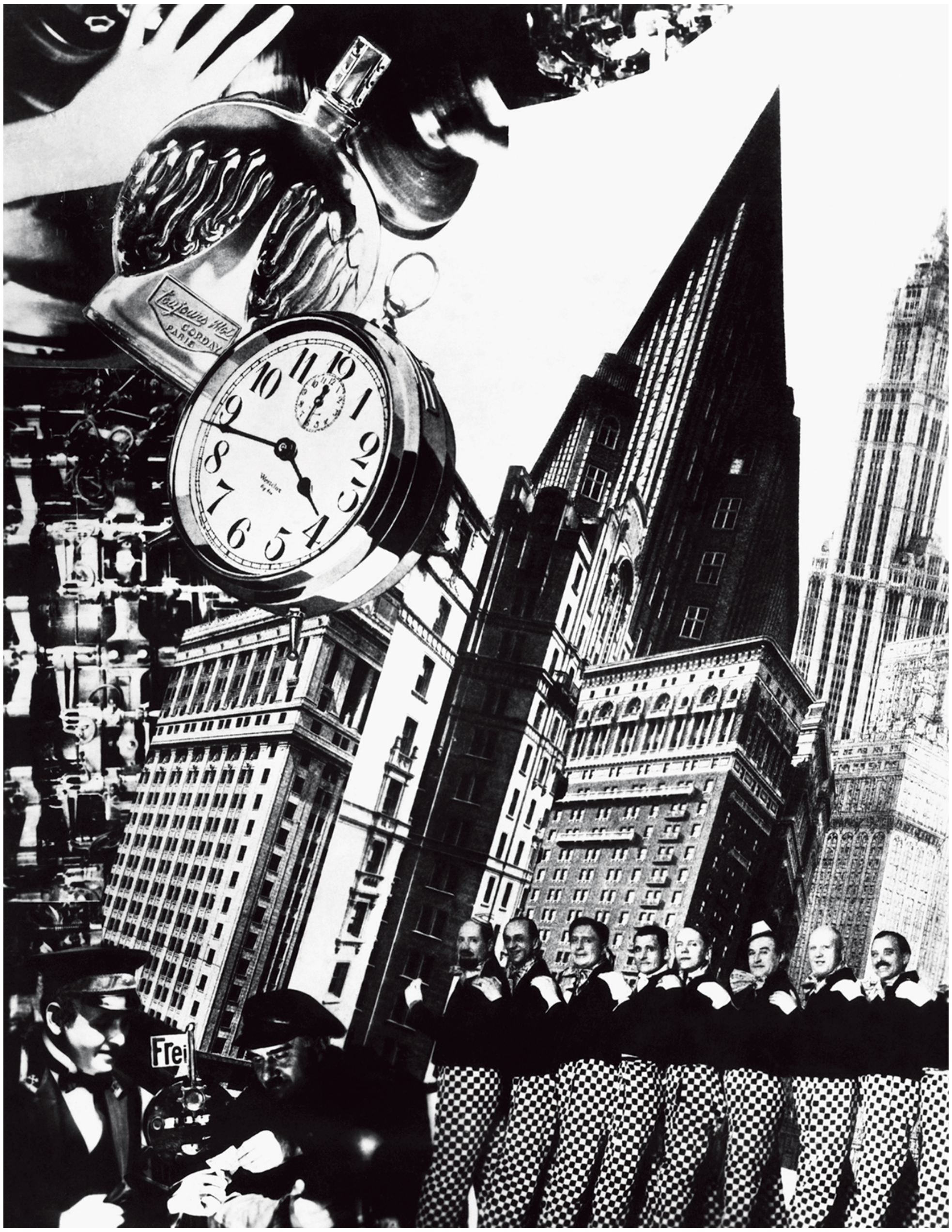
123 Fritz Lang, montage of scenes from the film *Metropolis*, 1926


ERANOT
UTAMOH

124 Fritz Lang, still from the film *Metropolis*, 1926

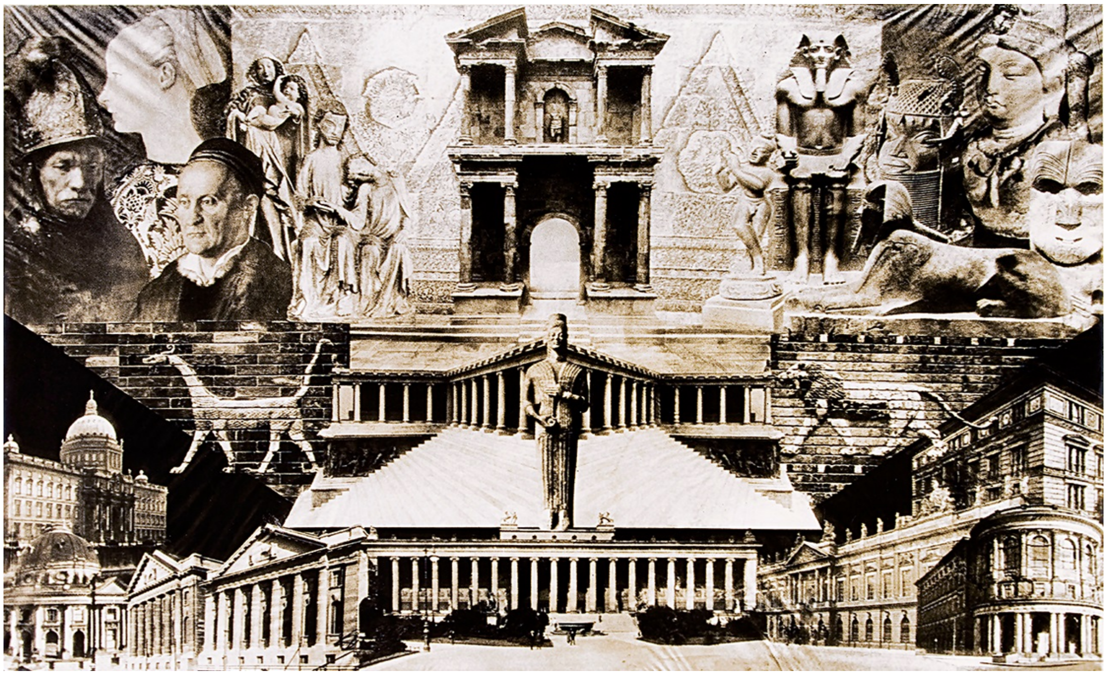


125 Otto Umbehr (Umbo), *Perspective of the Street*, 1926

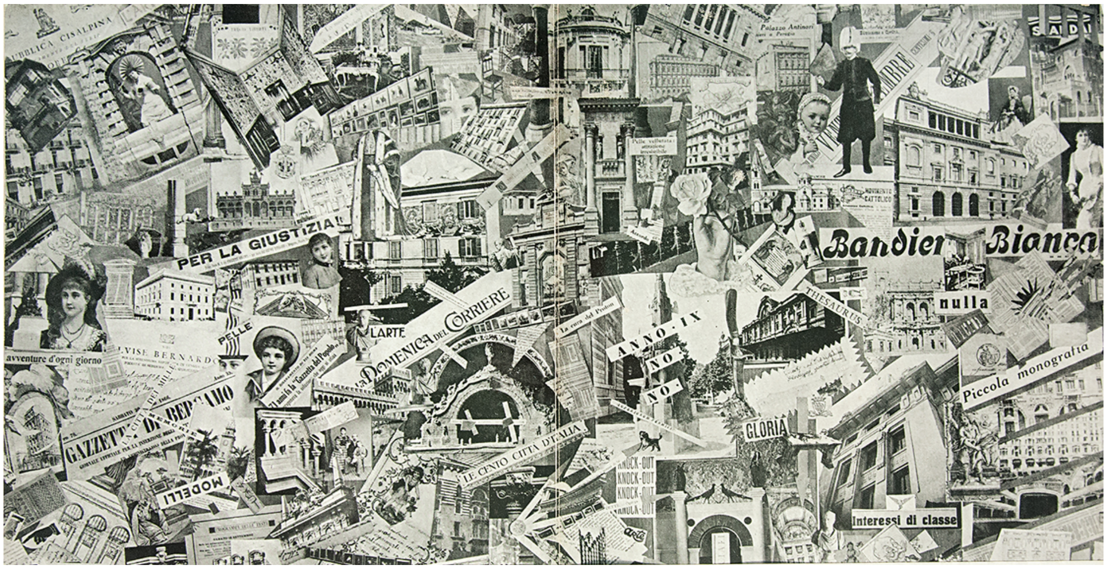


126 Walter Ruttmann, publicity material for the film *Berlin*, 1927

By contrast, a satirical photomontage by P. M. Bardi, *Panel of Horrors* (1931), was assembled for an exhibition of ‘Rational Architecture’, and was intended to show the backward-looking, dusty attitude of official Italian building policy.[128] Similarly, César Domela-Nieuwenhuis’s *Berlin Museums*, a panel made for the wall of the 1931 Berlin exhibition of photomontage that he organized, shows Berlin’s museums and galleries obsessed with the art of the past.[127]



127 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, *Berlin Museums*, 1931


PER LA GIUSTIZIA
Bandier
Bianca
nulla
Piccola monografia
LA DOMENICA DEL CORRIERE
L'ARTE
PELLE
avventure d'ogni giorno
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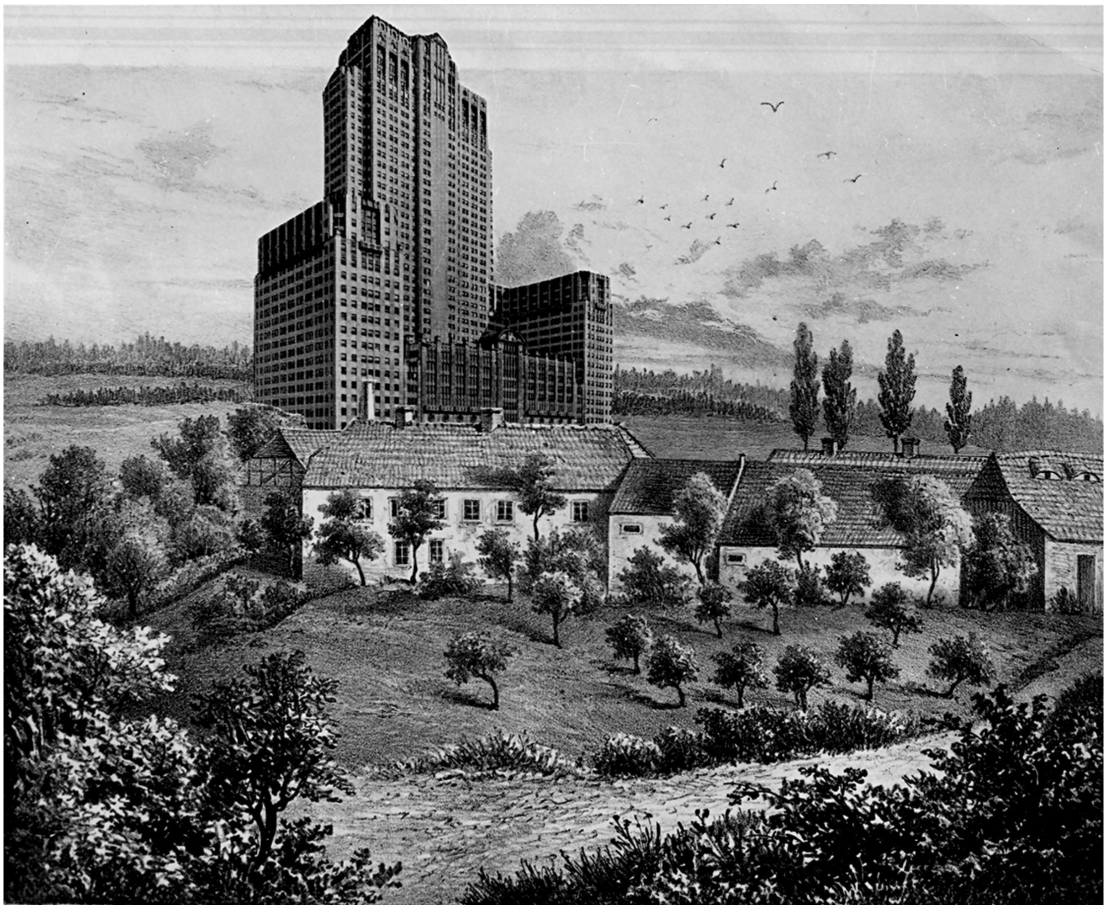
MODELLI
ANNO IX
NO
NO
NO
THESAURUS
GLORIA
KNOCK-OUT
Interessi di classe
LE CENTO CITTÀ D'ITALIA

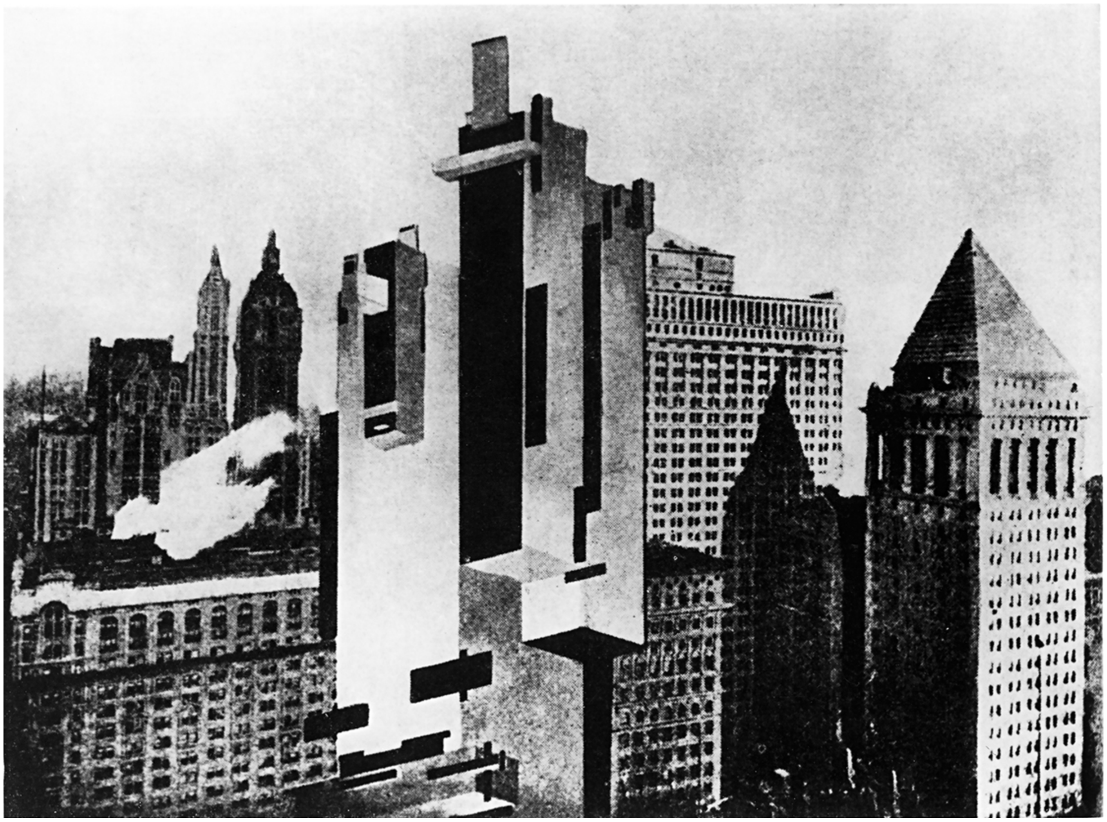
128 P. M. Bardi, *Panel of Horrors*, 1931

The use of photomontage by architects in building plans and projections is now commonplace. It has a practical use in, for example, showing the relationship between the existing environment and the projected building. In the 1920s, however, it was sometimes used in a more personal way. Citroën's *Brotenfeld* (1928) is like a mock projection, pointing up the unbridgeable gap between the country and buildings of the past, taken from an old engraving, and the city and buildings of the present and future.[129] It is curiously hard now to judge the tone of the work – whether it was intended as a comic fantasy, or contains suggestions about appropriate building styles, or is simply a comment on the urbanization of the countryside.

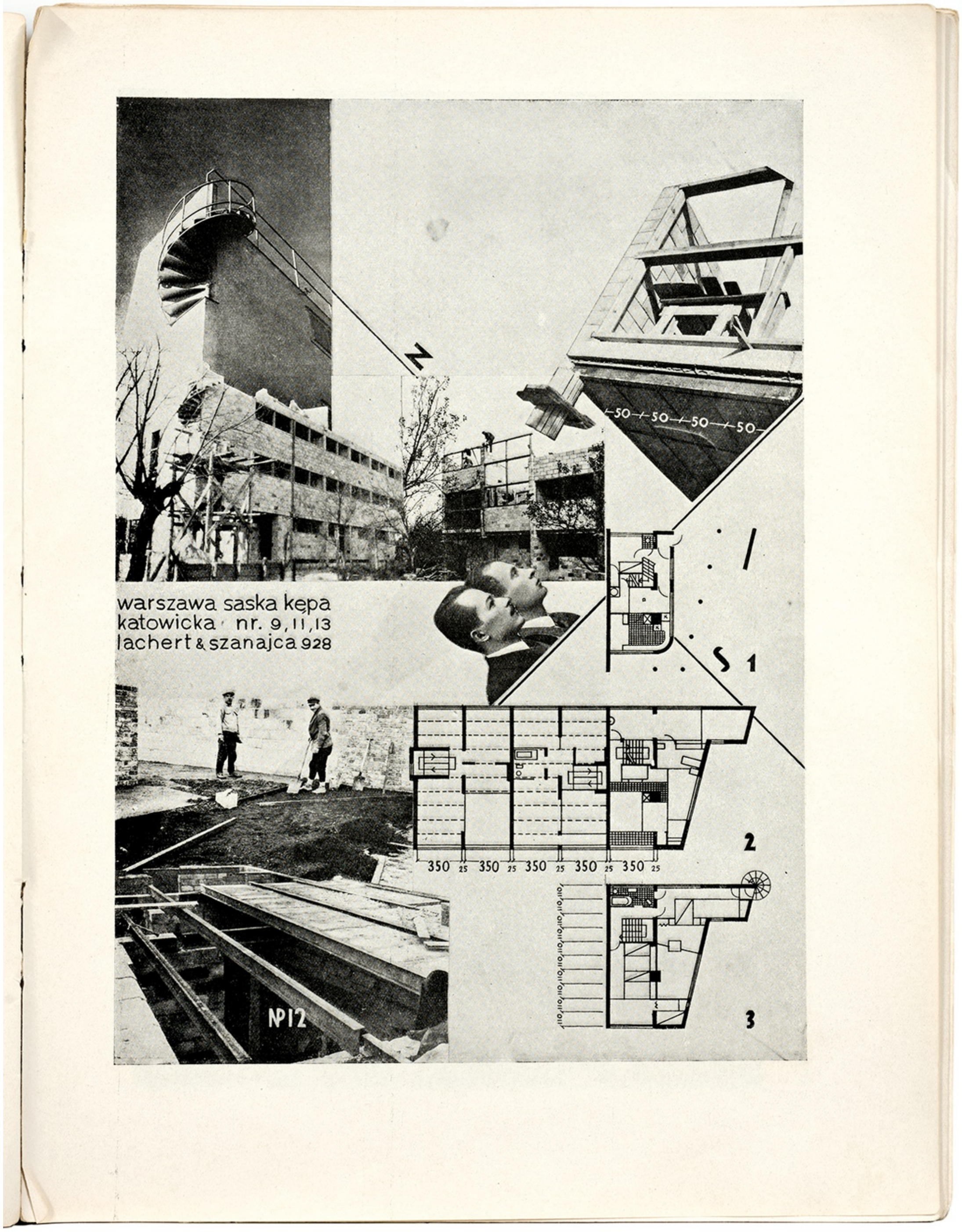


129 Paul Citroën, *Brotenfeld*, 1928

Design and Construction of a House, Warsaw (1928), the photomontage by the Polish Constructivist architects Lachert and Szanajca, who taught at the Warsaw Institute of Technology and collaborated on several projects, combines plans and a view of the house – showing advanced construction methods for its time – with photographs of the two architects and the house under construction, so that in spite of its utilitarian appearance it is more like a personal record.[131]



130 Kazimir Malevich, *Project for a Suprematist Skyscraper for New York City*, 1926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katowicka nr. 9,11,13
lachert & szanajca 928
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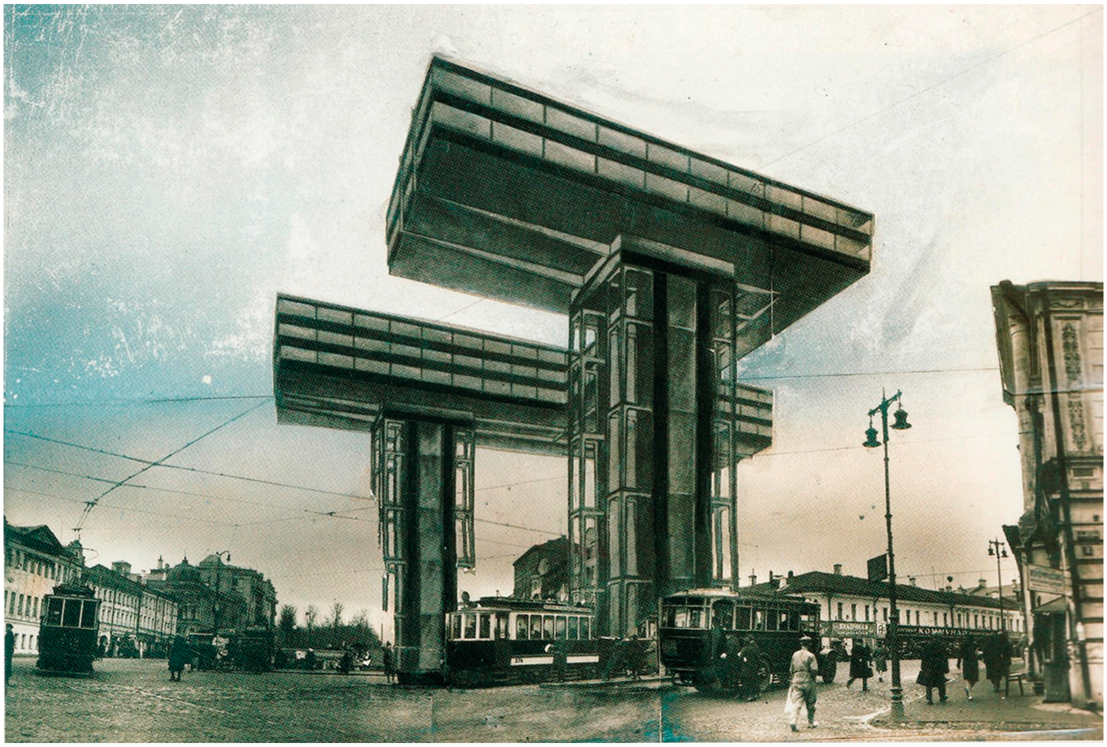
3
№12

131 Bohdan Lachert and Joseph Szanajca, *Design and Construction of a House, Warsaw*, 1928

Many of the great architectural projects conceived in Russia in the 1920s remained unbuilt (as, in Italy, did the Futurist Sant'Elia's visionary cities). Perhaps the grandest of these was El Lissitzky's *Wolkenbügel* – translated as 'sky hanger' or 'sky iron' – demonstrated in a photomontage of 1925, erected in Nikitsky Square, Moscow.[**132**] Lissitzky aimed to bridge the gap between the functional group of artists and architects and those who believed in the abstract search for an ideal form which would bring its influence to bear on functional work – as Malevich's *Architectonics*, a series of 'models' never intended to be built, were supposed to do. El Lissitzky was concerned with the problems of suspending a building clear of the earth; as he wrote in *Russland*, in 1929, 'our idea for the future is to minimize the foundations that link to the earth'. Although probably planned to be built, the concept of the *Wolkenbügel* also leans on Lissitzky's non-objective 'prouns', volumetric constructions on canvas that he described as the 'interchange station between painting and architecture', and his 'proun-room', of whose space he wrote: 'We see that Suprematism has swept away from the plane the illusions of two-dimensional planimetric space, the illusions of three-dimensional perspective space, and has created the ultimate illusion of irrational space, with infinite extensibility into the background and foreground.[2] *Wolkenbügel*, however, which shows the building from the point of view of a man walking in the street, is startlingly realistic, making the visionary project *actual*.



132 El Lissitzky, *Wolkenbügel*, 1925

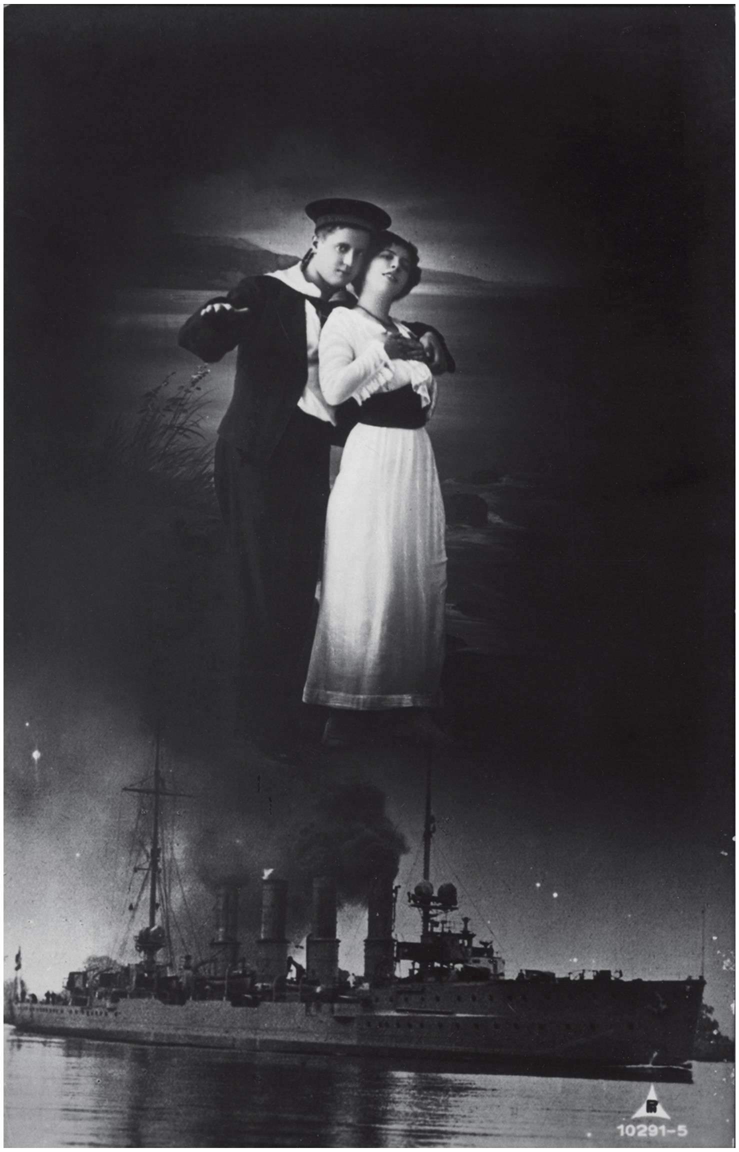
In *The Non-Objective World*, Malevich demonstrated the sources of Suprematism with aerial photographs of dockyards, cities, roads, dams and aeroplanes in formation: the ‘new environment of the artist’. His fascination with modern city-and industrial-scapes was conditioned by the new technology that, combined with photography, revealed a world unknown to earthbound man. Like his contemporaries, Malevich was excited by the skyscraper city of New York; in *Project for a Suprematist Skyscraper for New York City* (1926), he montaged a drawing of one of his Suprematist architectonics (forms conceived as pure, non-utilitarian architecture) on to an aerial view of New York, placing it, with a certain humour, vertically rather than, as was intended, horizontally, thereby ‘obtaining the highest and most modern of skyscrapers, that symbol of the Icarus myth pursued by his whole generation’.[3][**130**] Just to the right of the upright architectonic is the Equitable Building, for about five years after its construction in 1915 the largest and tallest of the New York skyscrapers. It is the building that can be seen in Grosz’s and Heartfield’s *Dada-merika*, and also in one of Rodchenko’s photomontages for *About This*,[4] in which the poet stands on the Kremlin Tower, symbol of the old world against the new.[**22**, **97**]

Chapter 3

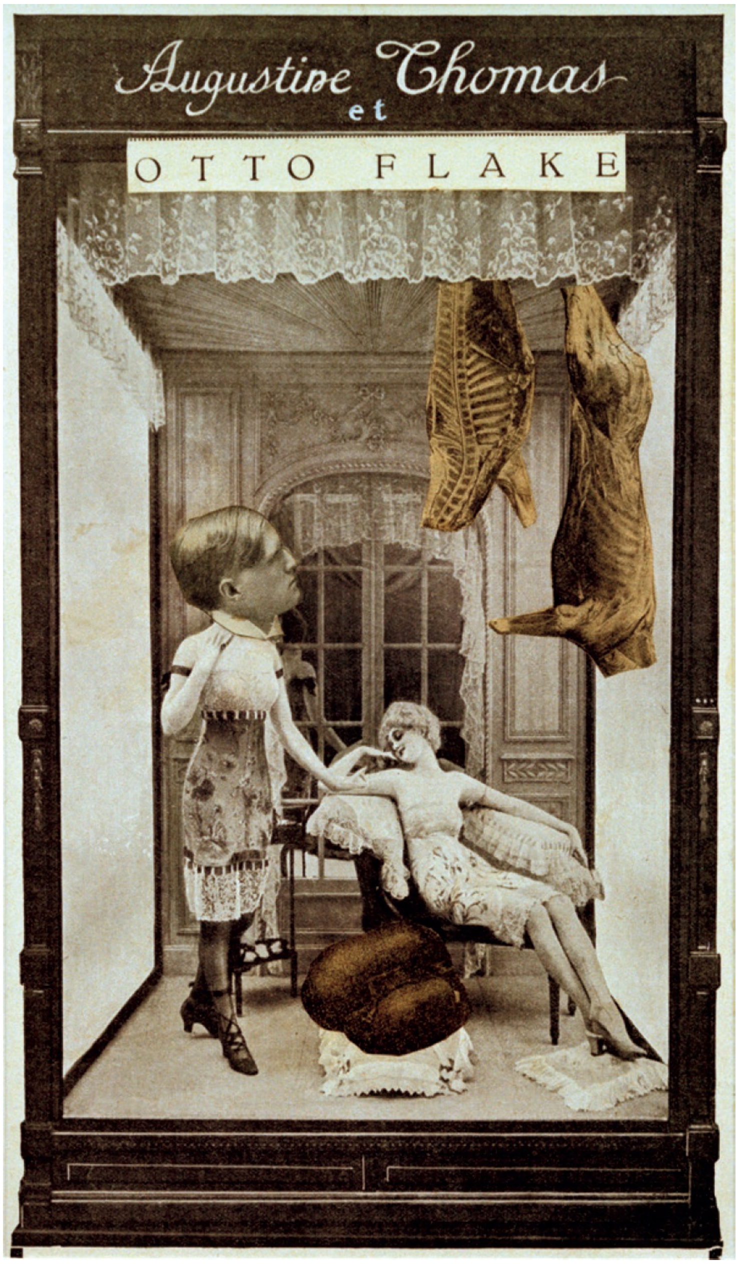
The Marvellous and the Commonplace

Just as the greater ‘reality’ of the photographic image in comparison to, for example, the drawn caricature informs political photomontage, so it can all the more successfully disrupt our perception of the normal world, and create marvellous images. By the juxtaposition of elements that are strange to one another, hallucinatory landscapes are formed; commonplace objects become enigmatic when moved to a new environment. Our minds struggle to encompass them and are baffled, or a new thought is made for them. Different realities are thus revealed.

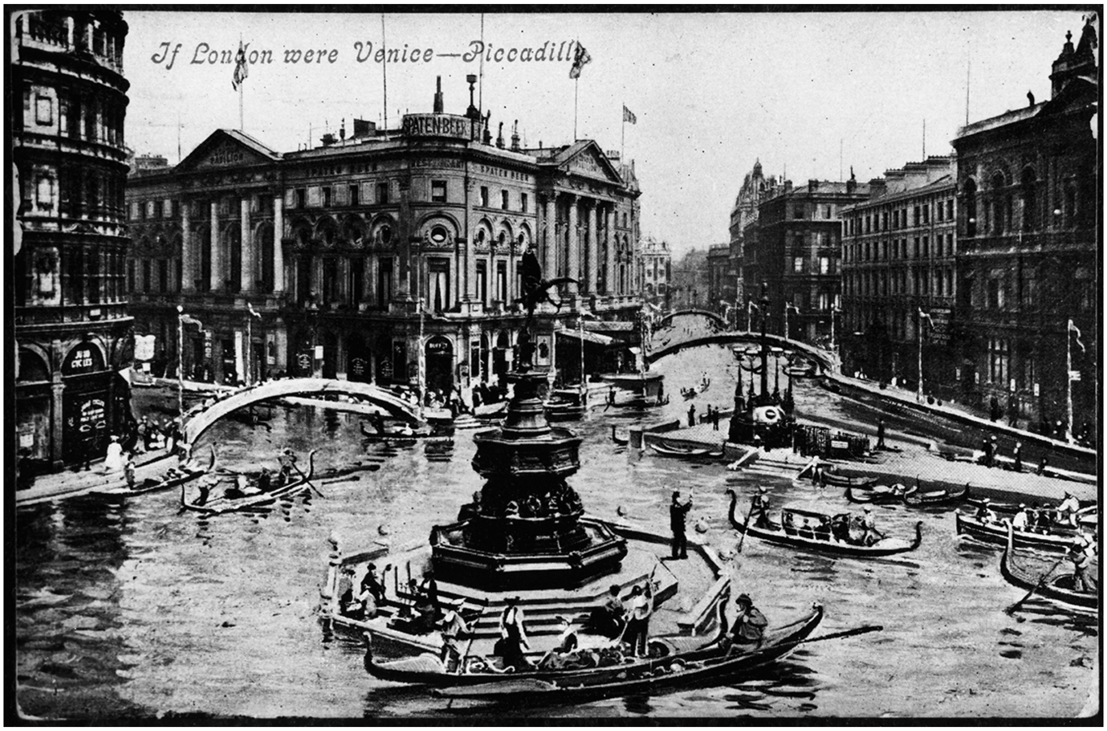
Before Dada and Surrealism began to pursue ‘the systematic derangement of the senses’, as Rimbaud called it, by pictorial as well as other means, the fascinating paradox of being able to distort reality with the medium that was its truest mirror had often been explored in illustrated magazines and, above all, through the medium of the popular postcard. Postcards, which proliferated after the turn of the century, used photomontage for a variety of effects: they might capitalize on the disruption of scale, as in one example that showed a cart filled with giant Alice-in-Wonderland apples as big as its own wheels, with the caption ‘Can a photo lie?’. Other postcards wistfully juxtapose an idea and a real scene – the young sailor embracing his girl rises from the battleship on which he is serving – or manufacture by montage a tourist joke: Piccadilly Circus is transformed into Venice.[**133**, **135**]



133 German popular postcard, *c*. 1914


Augustine Thomas
et
OTTO FLAKE

134 Louise Straus-Ernst, *Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake*, 1920



135 Postcard of Piccadilly Circus as Venice, *c*. 1905

The making of collages and photomontages was a widespread practice among the Dadaists by 1920. Some of Duchamp's altered readymades, like the colour lithograph of the *Mona Lisa* ornamented with moustache and beard, relate to this activity. Picabia reproduced a replica he made of Duchamp's *Mona Lisa* (*LHOOQ*) (1919), from which he forgot the beard, on the front page of his review *391* (no. 12, Paris, March 1920). Picabia's Christmas card to Arp and Ernst that year consisted of a pasted-over photograph of himself, with inscriptions including 'Francis le Raté' (Francis the Failure). The title, *Tableau Rastadada*, refers to his book of 1920, *Jesus-Christ Rastaquouère*, which contained nihilistic and mocking remarks about art.[**136**] Both his photomontage and Théodore Fraenkel's *Artistique et sentimental* (1921) are concerned in part with fashion – high-heeled shoes in the Picabia, corsets and designs for aprons in the Fraenkel – a theme that is shared with many Berlin Dada photomontages and with those of Kurt Schwitters.[1][**137**] Part mockery, part titillation, it is both a comment on taste and on the activity of shaping through cutting paper.[**138**] Like the Berlin Dada photomontages, too, portraits and self-portraits are ubiquitous; there are, however, fewer references to machines, although these occasionally appear in Ernst’s collages and were of course the dominant theme of Picabia’s paintings.

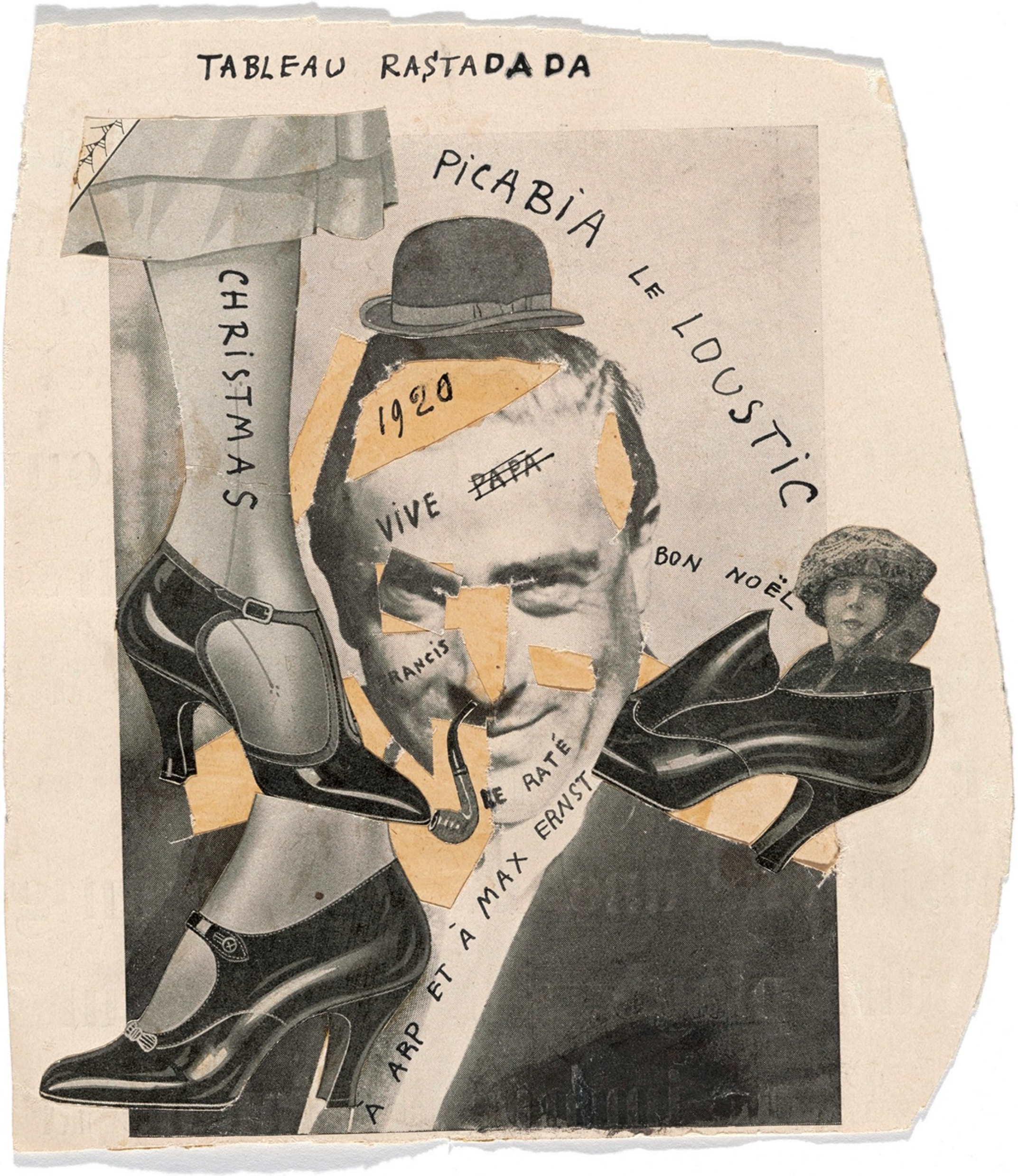
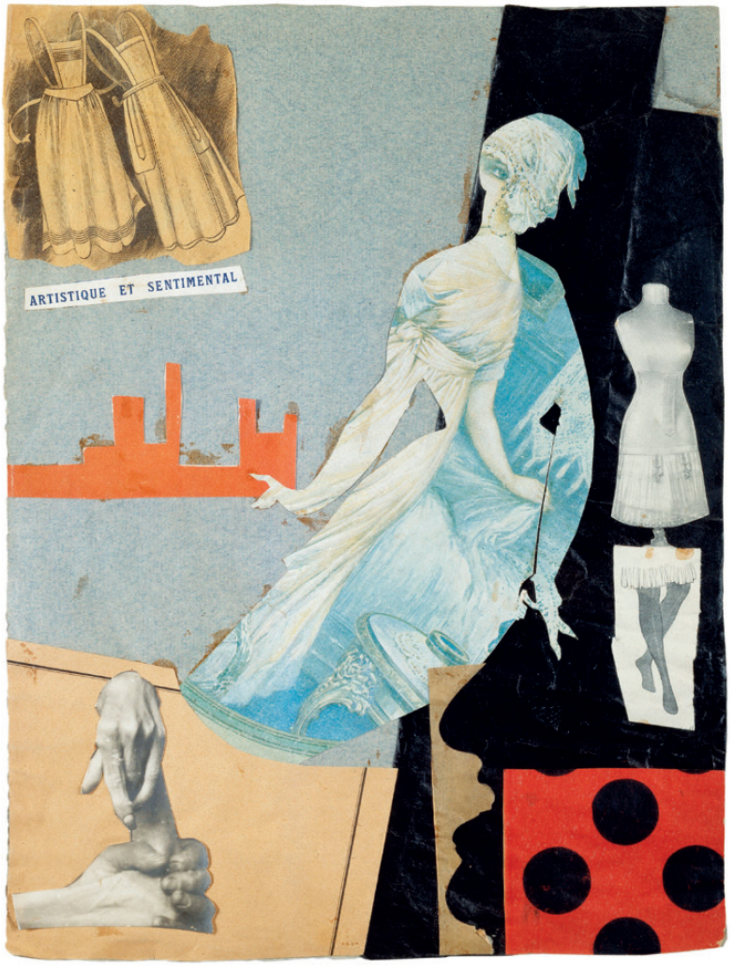
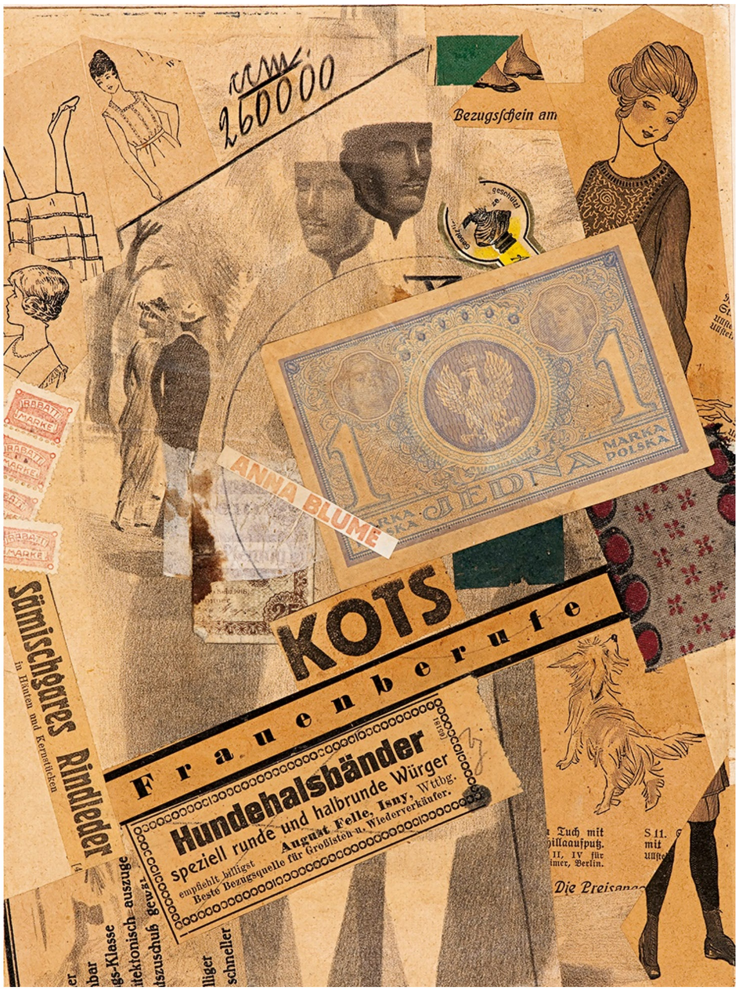


TABLEAU RASTADADA
PICABIA LE LOUSTIC
CHRISTMAS
1920
VIVE ~~PAPA~~
BON NOËL
FRANCIS
LE RATÉ
À ARP ET À MAX ERNST

136 Francis Picabia, *Tableau Rastadada*, 1920

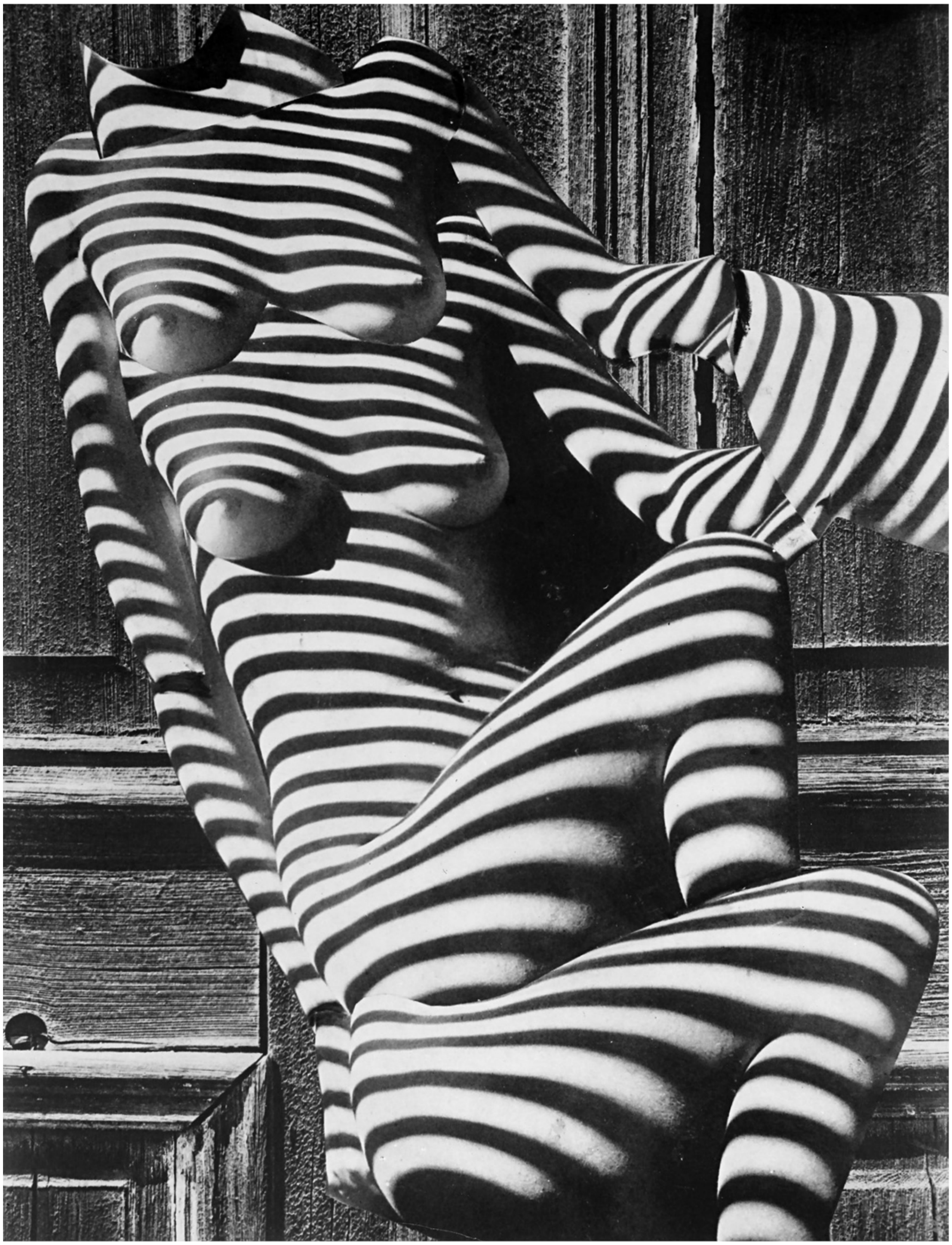

ARTISTIQUE ET SENTIMENTAL

137 Théodore Fraenkel, *Artistique et sentimental*, 1921

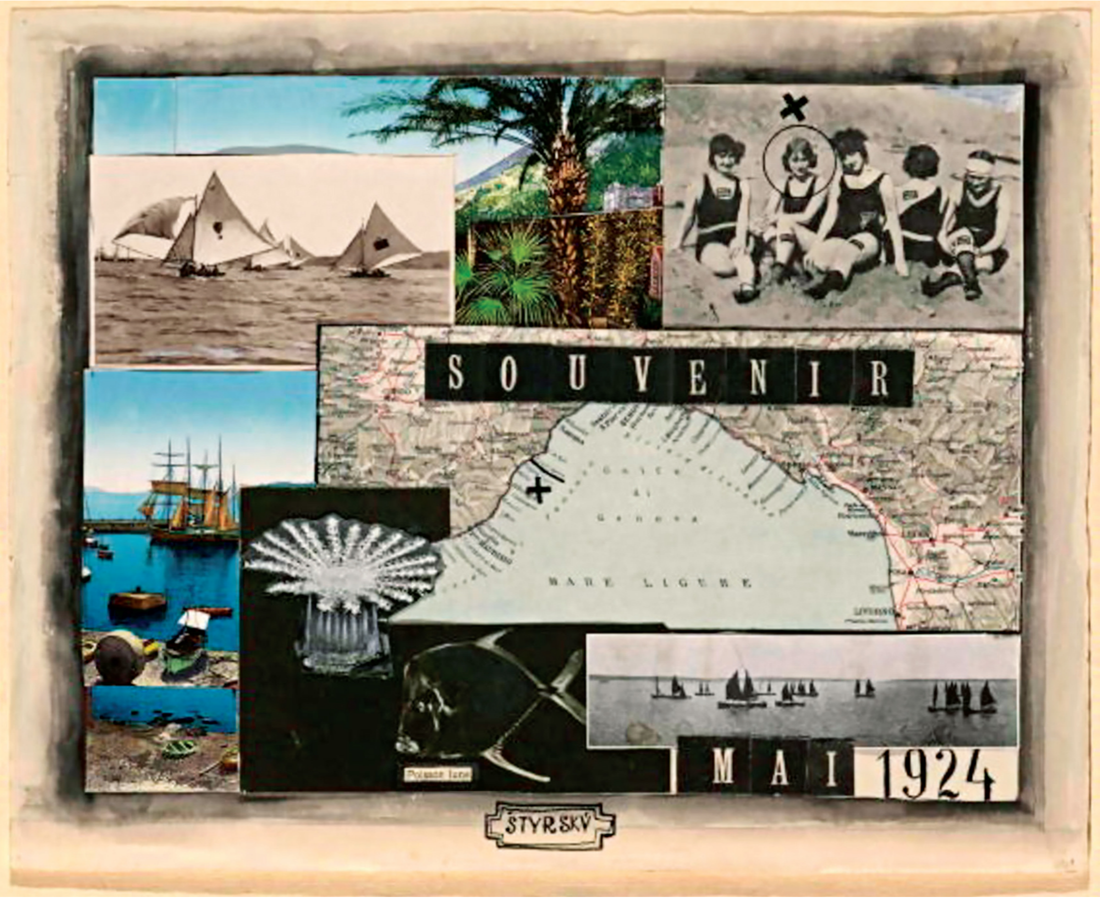

260000
Bezugsschein am
ANNA BLUME
JEDNA
MARKA POLSKA
KOTS
Frauenberufe
Hundehalsbänder
speziell runde und halbrunde Würger
Sämischgares Rindleder
Die Preisan

138 Kurt Schwitters, *Mz 158 The Kots Picture*, 1920

In Czechoslovakia, a group of writers and painters including Toyen, Josef Šima, Karel Teige and Jindřich Štyrský maintained close contact with Dada groups in Western Europe. In 1924, Teige founded a movement called Poetism, which, under the influence of Apollinaire, favoured the ‘picture poem’.[139] In the summer of 1924, the group agreed to send ‘tourist picture poems’ from their travels, of which *Souvenir* may be an example.[140] This group was to maintain a particularly close relationship with Surrealism in Paris.



139 Karel Teige, *Zebra Ladies*, 1948



140 Jindřich Štyrský, *Souvenir*, 1924

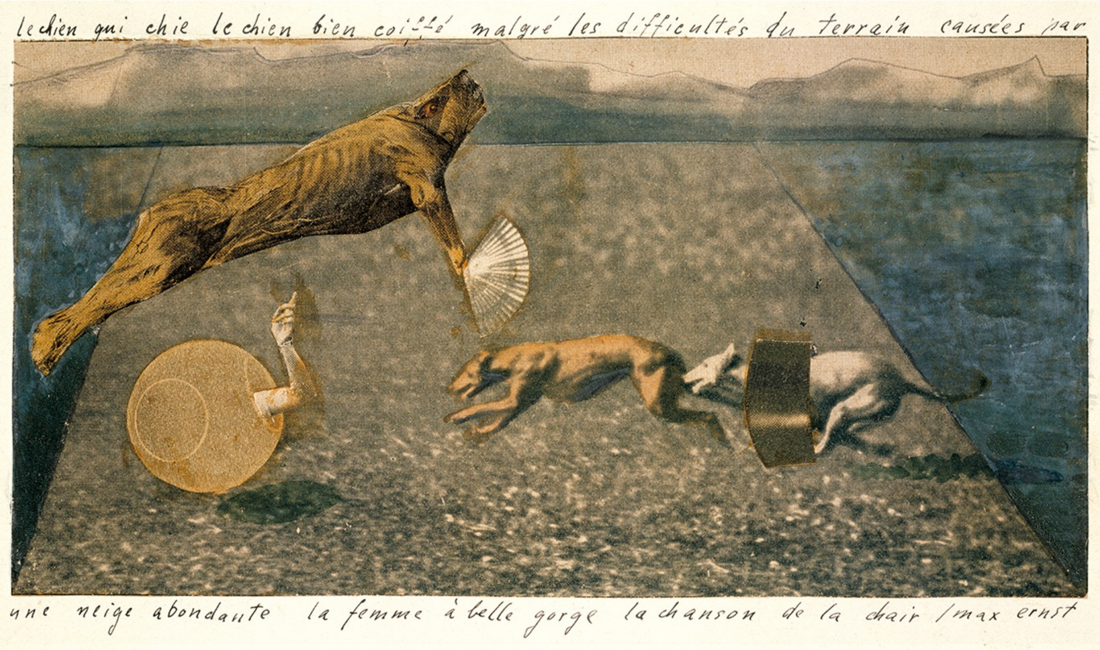
Max Ernst was one of the first artists to systematically pursue the disorienting power of combined photographic images, and the possibilities of marvellous transformations of objects, bodies, landscapes and even substance itself down to the tiniest detail. In Cologne after the end of the First World War, alongside Hans Arp and Johannes Baargeld, he fostered Dada activities and began to make Dada pictures that open up new areas of figuration.

As Aragon had noted of Ernst in an essay of 1923, it was the free imagination working on and through given images that distinguished his collages from those of the Cubists. For Ernst, collage was the conquest of the irrational. This is how he described its discovery:

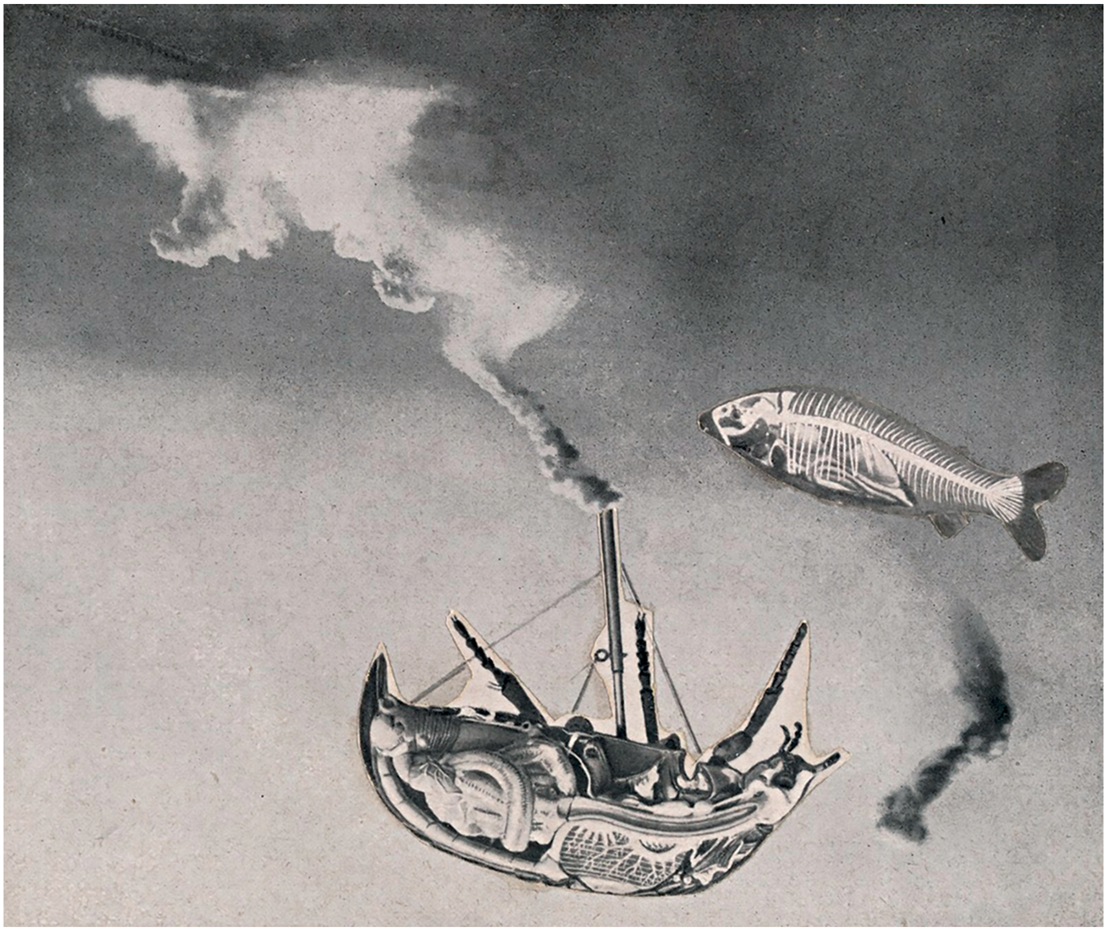
One rainy day in 1919, finding myself in a village on the Rhine, I was struck by the obsession which held under my gaze the pages of an illustrated catalogue showing objects designed for anthropologic, microscopic, psychologic, mineralogic and paleontologic demonstration. There I found

> *brought together elements of figuration so remote that the sheer absurdity of that collection provoked a sudden intensification of the visionary faculties in me and brought forth an illusive succession of contradictory images, double, triple and multiple images, piling up on each other with the persistence and rapidity which are peculiar to love memories and visions of half sleep.*[2]

For Ernst, the mechanism of collage did not necessarily involve cutting and pasting. Once, when he told a painter friend that he was working on collages (‘glueings’) and was asked what kind of glue he used, he was ‘obliged to confess that in most of my collages there wasn’t any glue at all’. It was enough to add gouache, ink or pencil to effect a transformation on the page that resulted in a new coupling of realities. Frequently, he intensified the poetic power of the collages with long inscriptions or titles. In *The Song of the Flesh*, for example, a handwritten text runs ‘Le chien qui chie le chien bien coiffé malgré les difficultés du terrain causées par une neige abondante la femme à belle gorge la chanson de la chair’.[**141**] It has no logical or grammatical sequence, and reads like a collage of fragments. In those examples where there is actual collage, images drawn from photographic sources predominate, and Ernst often selected images of objects with a strong or interesting texture. He sometimes used x-ray photographs, as in *Here Everything is Still Floating* (the title was chosen by Arp), in which a boat and a skeletal fish float together in the sky, a disorientation similar to that in the painting *Celebes* (1921), where fish are, again, airborne and holes in the sky emit smoke.[**142**] The boat is formed of an inverted and transparent beetle.


le chien qui chie le chien bien coiffé malgré les difficultés du terrain causées par
une neige abondante la femme à belle gorge la chanson de la chair / max ernst

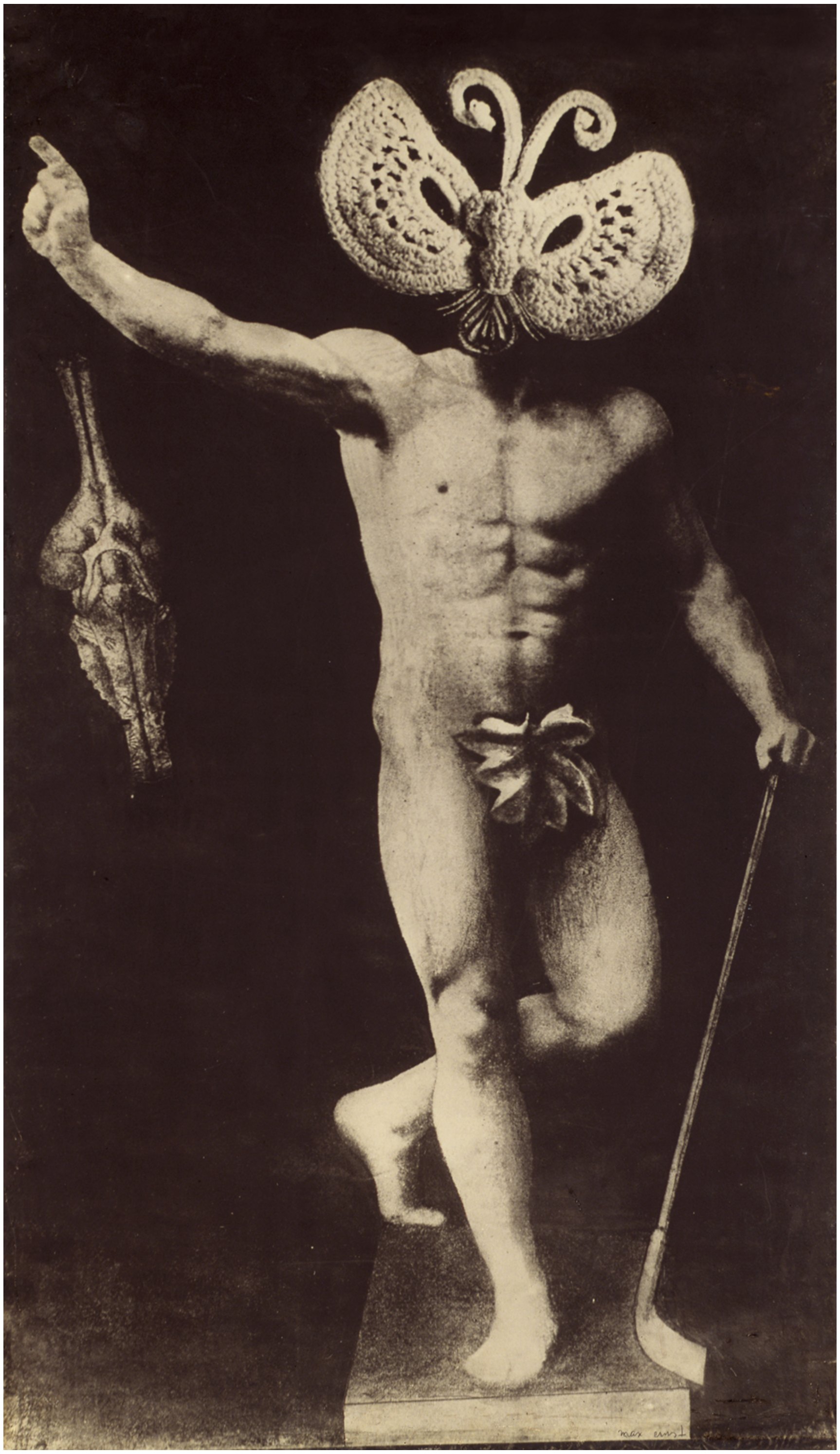
141 Max Ernst, *The Song of the Flesh*, 1920



142 Max Ernst and Hans Arp, *Here Everything is Still Floating*, 1920

The special role of the photograph or photographic fragment is clearly recognized in these collages. As Breton said: ‘He did not use materials aimed at an effect of compensation, as had been the practice hitherto (painted paper for painted canvas, snip of the scissors in place of the brush stroke, the glue itself to imitate smudges) but, on the contrary, elements endowed in their own right with a relatively independent existence – in the same sense that photography can evoke a unique image of a lamp, a bird or an arm.’[3] The isolation of an object can be as important as its incongruous juxtapositions: ‘If one were to displace a hand by severing it from an arm, that hand becomes more wonderful as a hand.’

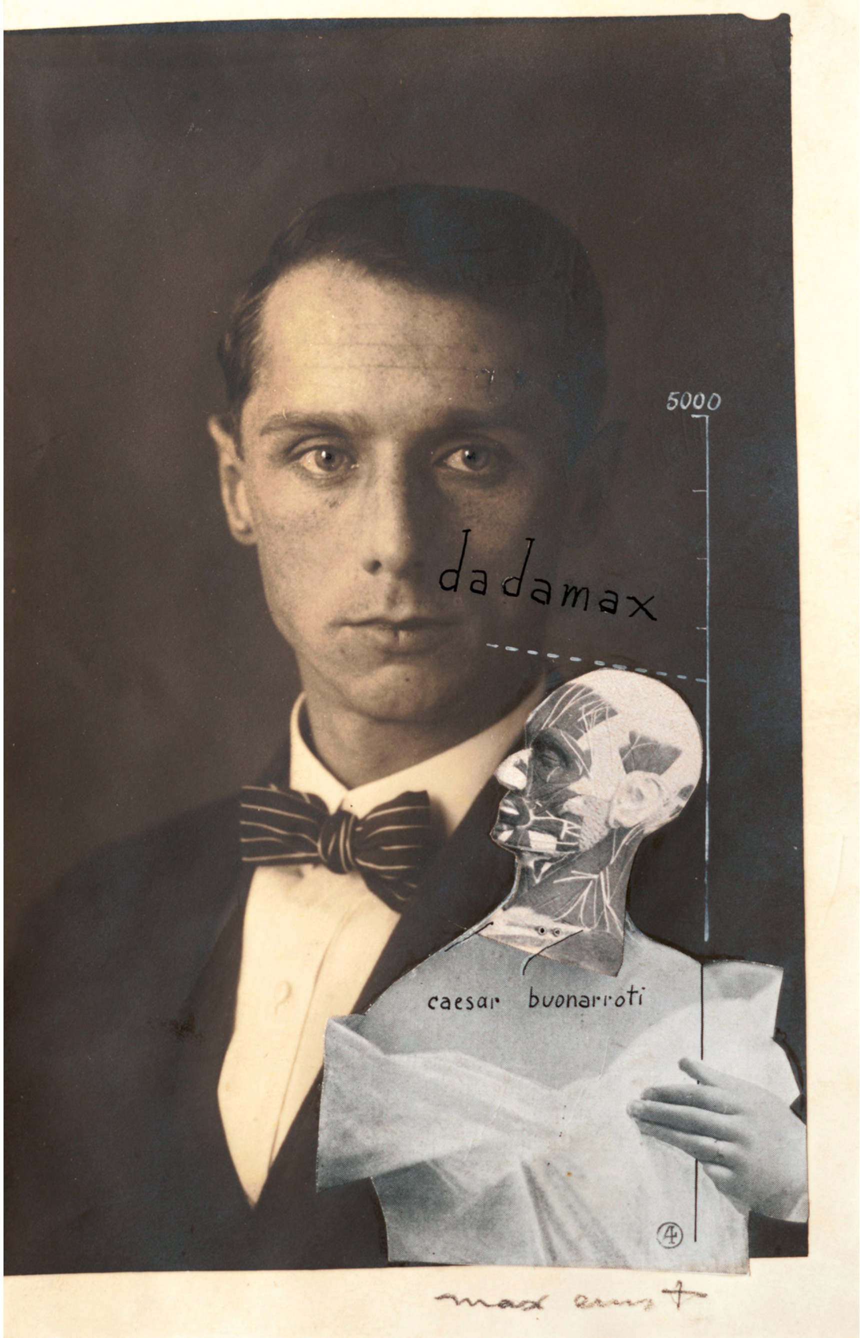
Ernst did not designate the different types of ‘collage’ by different names; he did not use the term ‘photomontage’, which at the time perhaps would have smacked too strongly of Berlin Dada, of which he had a low opinion, considering it a counterfeit version: ‘C’est vraiment allemand. Les intellectuels allemands ne peuvent pas faire caca ni pipi sans des idéologies.’ (‘It’s really German. German intellectuals can’t shit or piss without ideologies.’)[4]



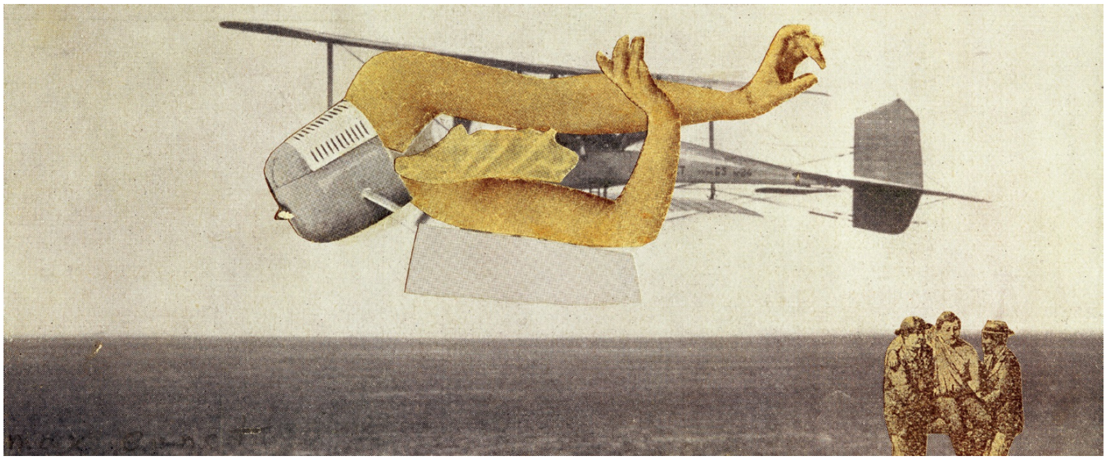
143 Max Ernst, *Health Through Sport*, *c*. 1920

Following contact with the Paris Dadaists Eluard and Breton, Ernst exhibited fifty-six of the ‘collages’ in Paris at the Galerie Sans Pareil in 1921 under the title ‘La Mise sous Whisky-marin…au dela de la peinture’ (Beyond Painting). Ernst also nicknamed them ‘Fatagaga’, standing for ‘fabrication de tableaux garantis gazométrique’. Breton, future leader of the Surrealists, found in them an entirely original and exhilarating form of expression that corresponded with a quality he had been seeking in poetry. He saw in Ernst’s work that surprising confrontation present in Lautréamont’s image (so much admired by the Surrealists and providing the touchstone for their poetry): ‘as beautiful as the chance encounter on a dissecting table of a sewing-machine and an umbrella.’ As Breton put it in the preface to Ernst’s 1921 exhibition:

It is the marvellous faculty of attaining two widely separate realities without departing from the realm of our experience, of bringing them together and drawing a spark from their contact; of gathering within reach of our senses abstract figures endowed with the same intensity, the same relief as other figures; and of disorienting us in our own memory by depriving us of a frame of reference – it is this faculty which for the present sustains Dada. Can such a gift not make the man whom it fills something better than a poet?[5]


5000
dadamax
caesar buonarroti
④
max ernst

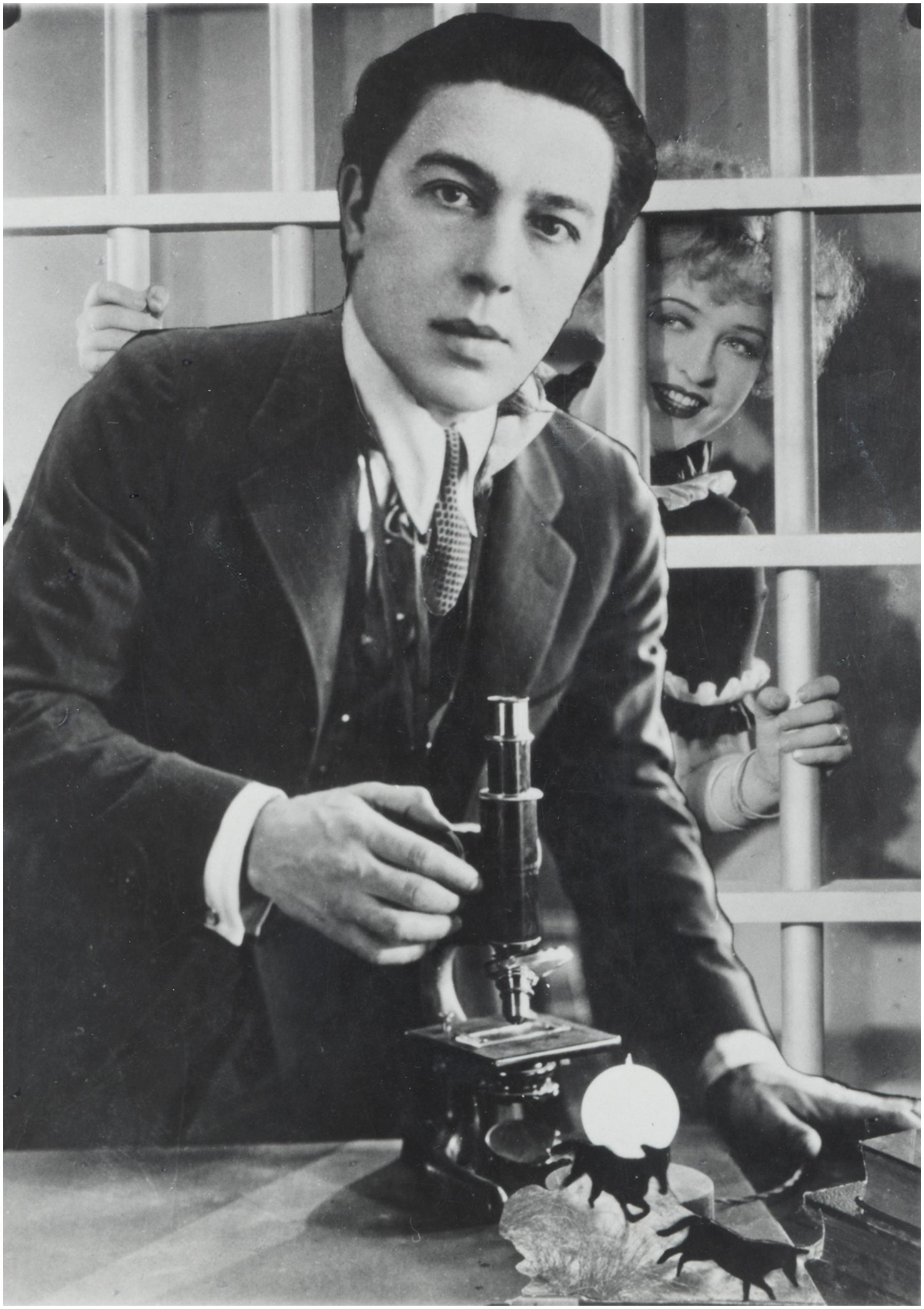
144 Max Ernst, *The Punching Ball*, or *Max Ernst and Caesar Buonarotti*, 1920



145 Max Ernst, *Untitled*, or *The Murderous Aeroplane*, 1920

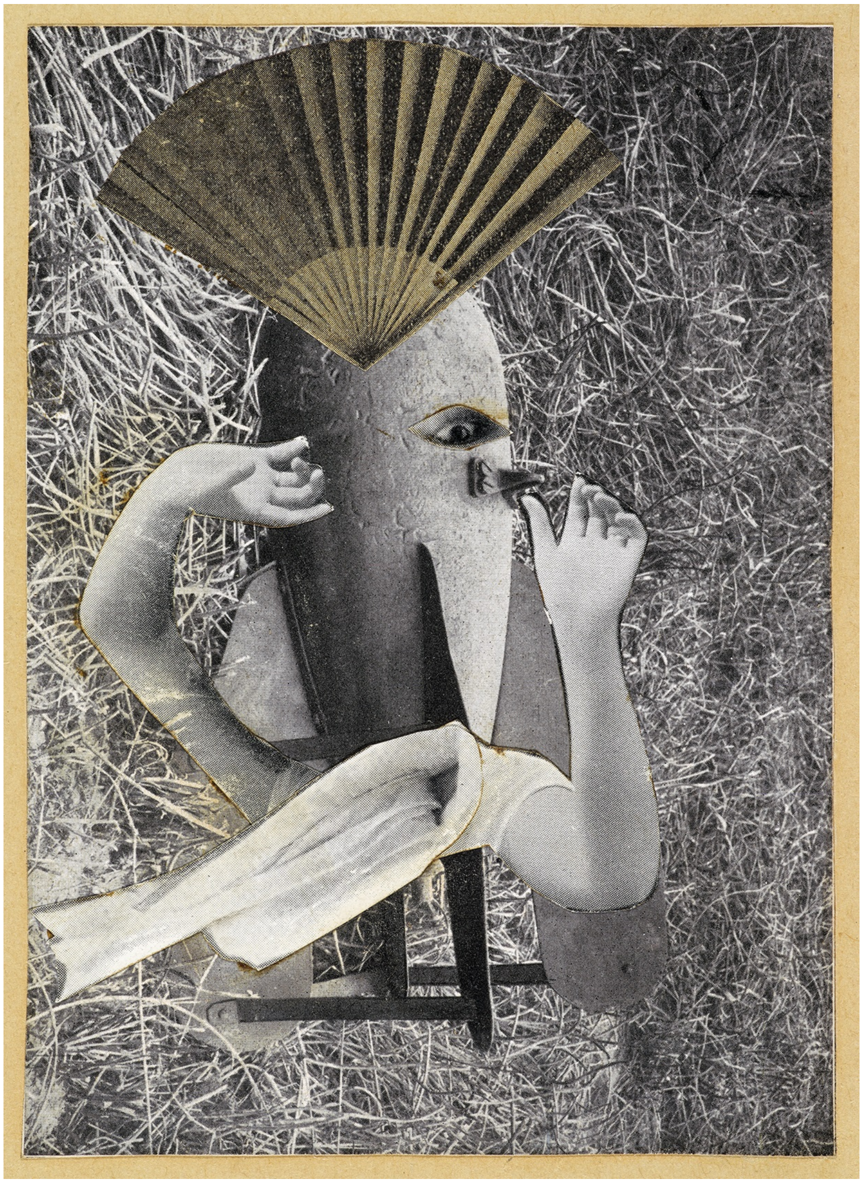
In this preface, Breton recognized the dual role of photography, both in rendering obsolete traditional kinds of painting and in supplying the consequently lacking but indispensable element of figuration:

*The invention of photography has dealt a mortal blow to the old modes of expression, in painting as in poetry, where automatic writing, which appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, is a true photography of thought….[**146**] Since a blind instrument now assured artists of achieving the aim they had set themselves up to that time, they now aspired, not without recklessness, to break with the imitation of appearances…. [But] a landscape into which nothing earthly enters is not within reach of our imagination…*



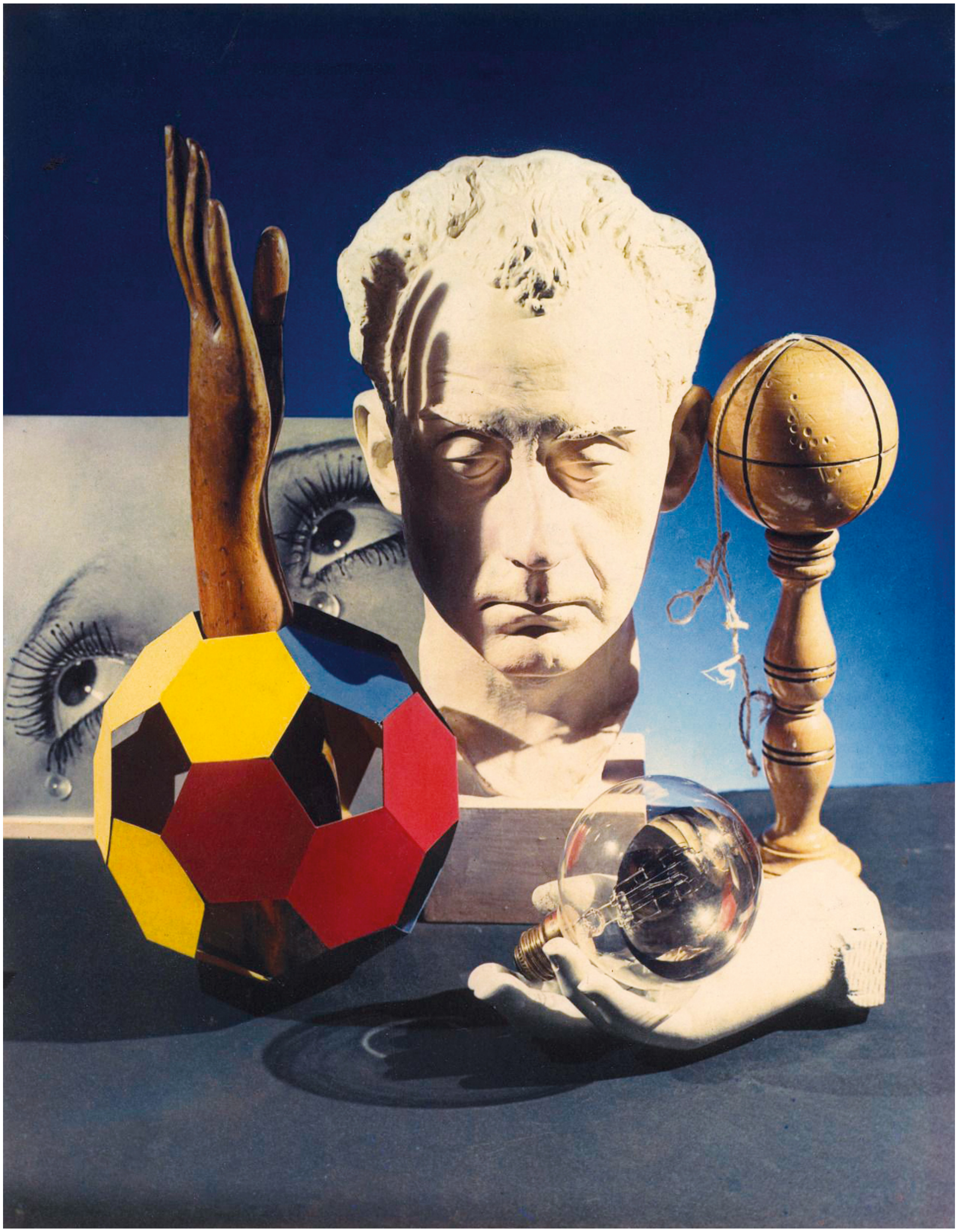
146 André Breton, *Self-Portrait: Automatic Writing*, 1938 (detail). The whole work includes Breton's inscription, 'L'écriture automatique'

There can be, in Ernst’s collages, a balance between the comic and the marvellous, the axis on which much Dada and Surrealist photomontage turns. It is the transformation of materials, the juxtaposition that alters the nature of the original object photographed, that often provokes the disorientation that leads to what the Surrealists call the marvellous. In *The Chinese Nightingale*, where the head ‘enfolds its thoughts like a fan, the head falling back on to its hair as on a lace pillow’,[6] the effect is that of the Surrealist poetic image, the disparate elements meeting in an encounter that transforms them and, in this case, creates a new whole, a head like an ancient mask.[**147**] When the effect is primarily comic, it is usually because the object stubbornly keeps its original nature (the hunk of beef in *The Song of the Flesh*, for instance), in spite of the metamorphoses effected around it and demanded of it, and the shock of contrast is that much greater.[**141**]



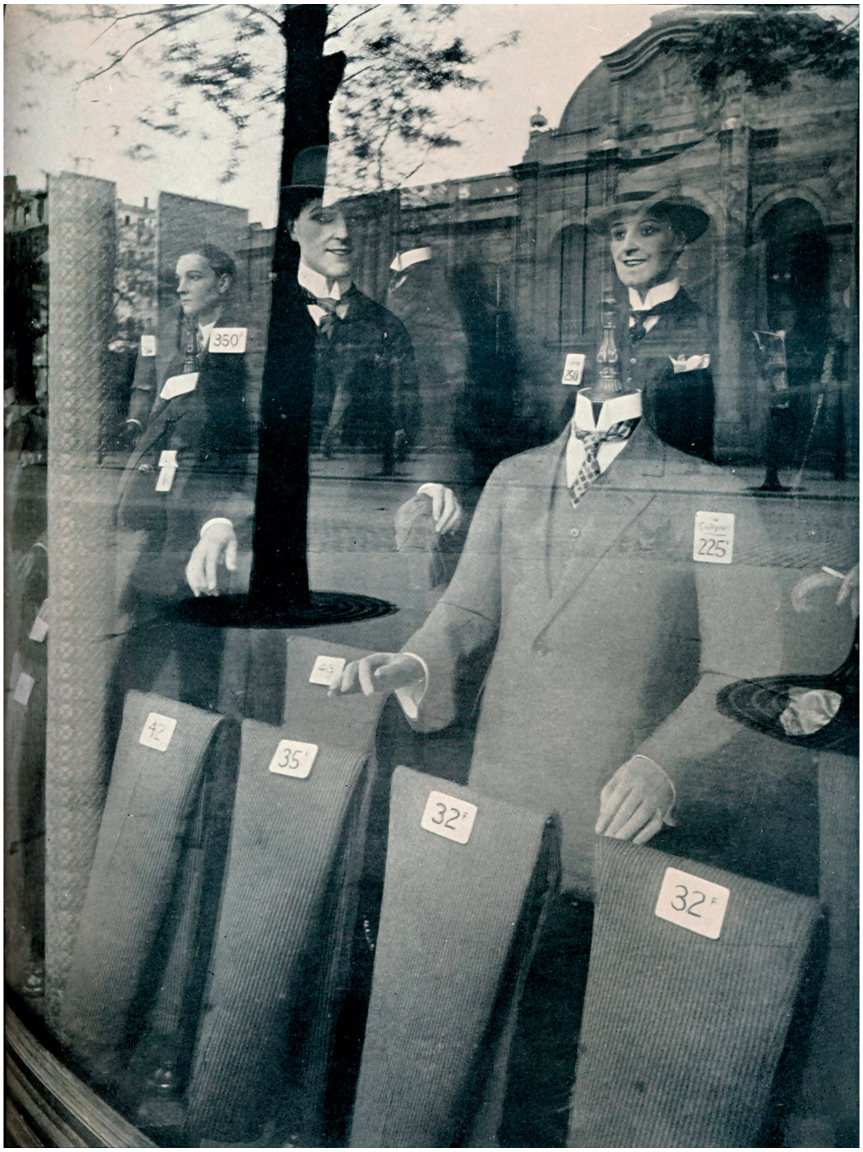
147 Max Ernst, *The Chinese Nightingale*, 1920

Ernst's collages, though made under the sign of Dada, were among those works which heralded Surrealism, as both Breton's preface – in which he described them in terms very close to those he was to use in 1924 in the first *Surrealist Manifesto* to describe the Surrealist image (bringing two widely separate realities together and drawing a spark from their contact) – and Ernst's own later account from *Beyond Painting* reveal. Ernst saw these collages (as he also saw his *frottages*) as in a sense equivalent or parallel to Surrealist automatic writing, in that his 'visionary faculties' were provoked by the unconscious. However, during the first few years of Surrealism, the period covered by the review *La Révolution surréaliste* (1924–29), comparatively few Surrealists persisted with photomontage, although the pages of the periodical were filled with *photographs*. Man Ray, of course, put photography to Surrealist use in a number of ways – in his ‘rayograms’, solarized photographs, double printing or double exposure photographs of enigmatic objects – though he rarely used photomontage, with occasional exceptions like the later ‘Self-Portrait’ from *Minotaure*. As Breton said in *Surrealism and Painting*, while Ernst had been ‘entrusting himself to photography’s avowed aims and making use, after the event, of the common ground of representation that it proposed, Man Ray has applied himself vigorously to the task of stripping it of its positive nature, of forcing it to abandon its arrogant air and pretentious claims.’[7][**148**]



148 Man Ray, frontispiece (self-portrait) to *Minotaure*, no. 3–4, 1933

Among the photographs included in *La Révolution surréaliste* were several by Atget of the streets and shop windows of Paris.[149] Some, by the use of reflection but without any actual manipulation, disturb the sense of reality of the photographic image. But Surrealist art in the 1920s was on the whole dominated by a commitment to automatism that tended towards the abstract, or towards the visible metamorphosis of images. It was only at the end of the decade that, with the arrival in the movement of Magritte and Salvador Dalí, there was a return to the fixing of the ‘dream image’. In 1929, Ernst published his collage novel *La Femme 100 Têtes*, which used engravings, some of which are by artists like Thiriat or Tilly who themselves worked from photographs. Collages from engravings by Ernst were reproduced in the final issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*, as were paintings by Dalí and Magritte and, significantly, three photomontages, one by the Belgian artist Albert Valentin, the others by René Magritte. The Belgian review *Variétés* paid particular attention to international photography and reproduced works by, among others, Man Ray, Tabard and E. L. T. Mesens.[**150**] Mesens, who had been involved in both Dada and Surrealist activities in Belgium throughout the 1920s as a poet as well as an artist, began experimenting with collage in 1924, but subsequently abandoned it until 1954. In the 1920s, he occasionally used photographic elements including photograms (or rayograms), as in *The Disconcerting Light* (1926).[**151**]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35f
32F
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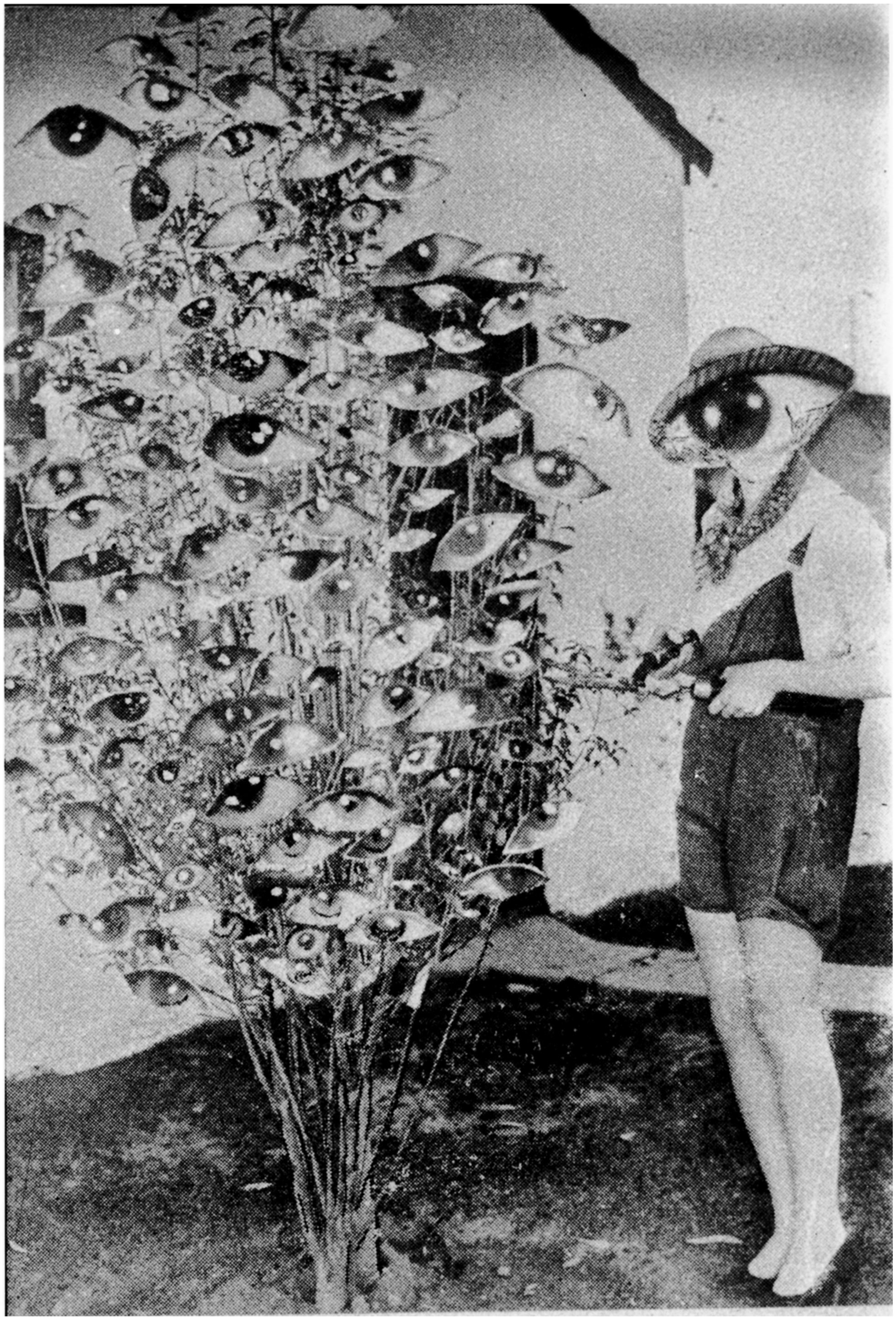
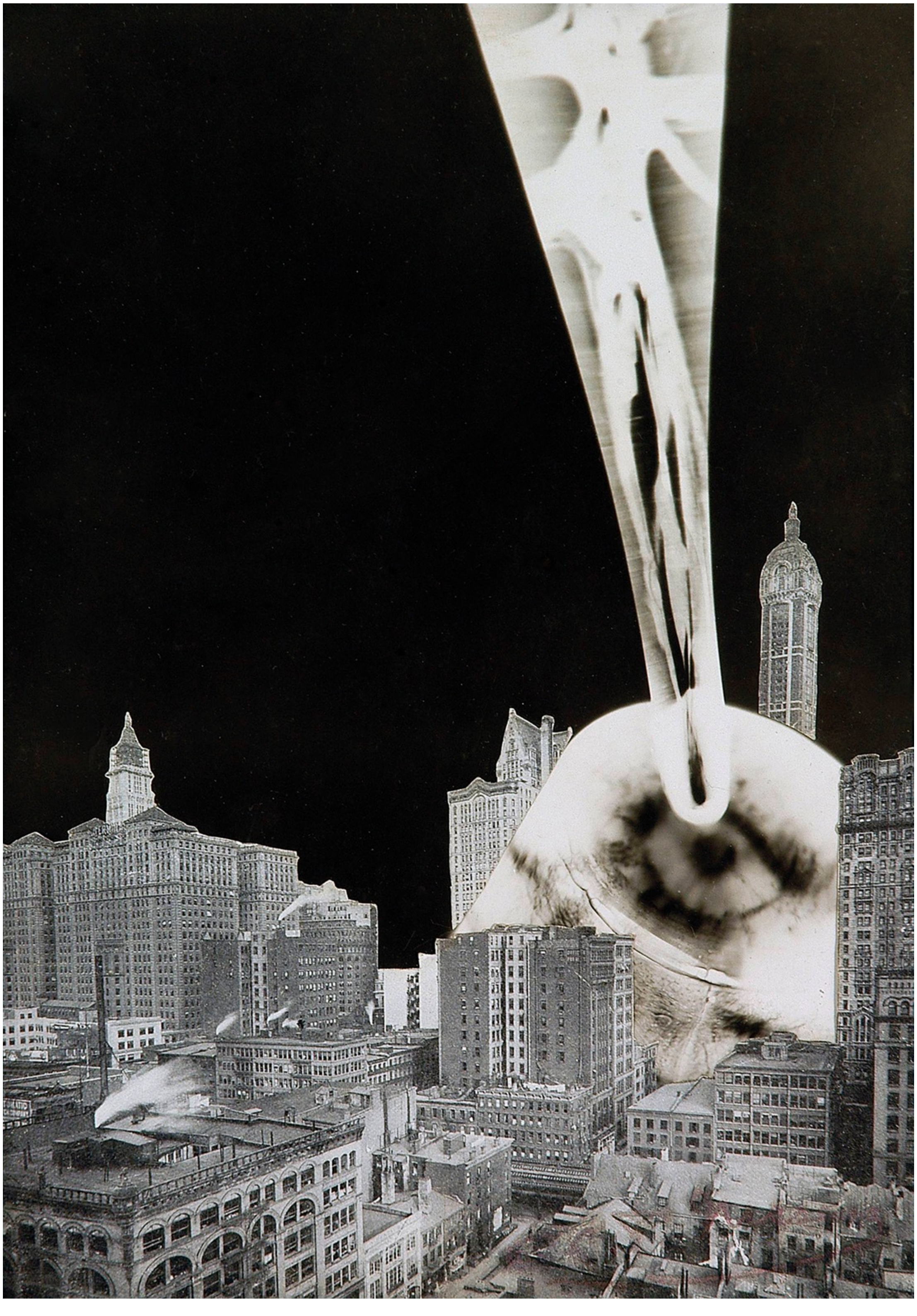
149 Eugène Atget, *Men's Fashions*, 1925

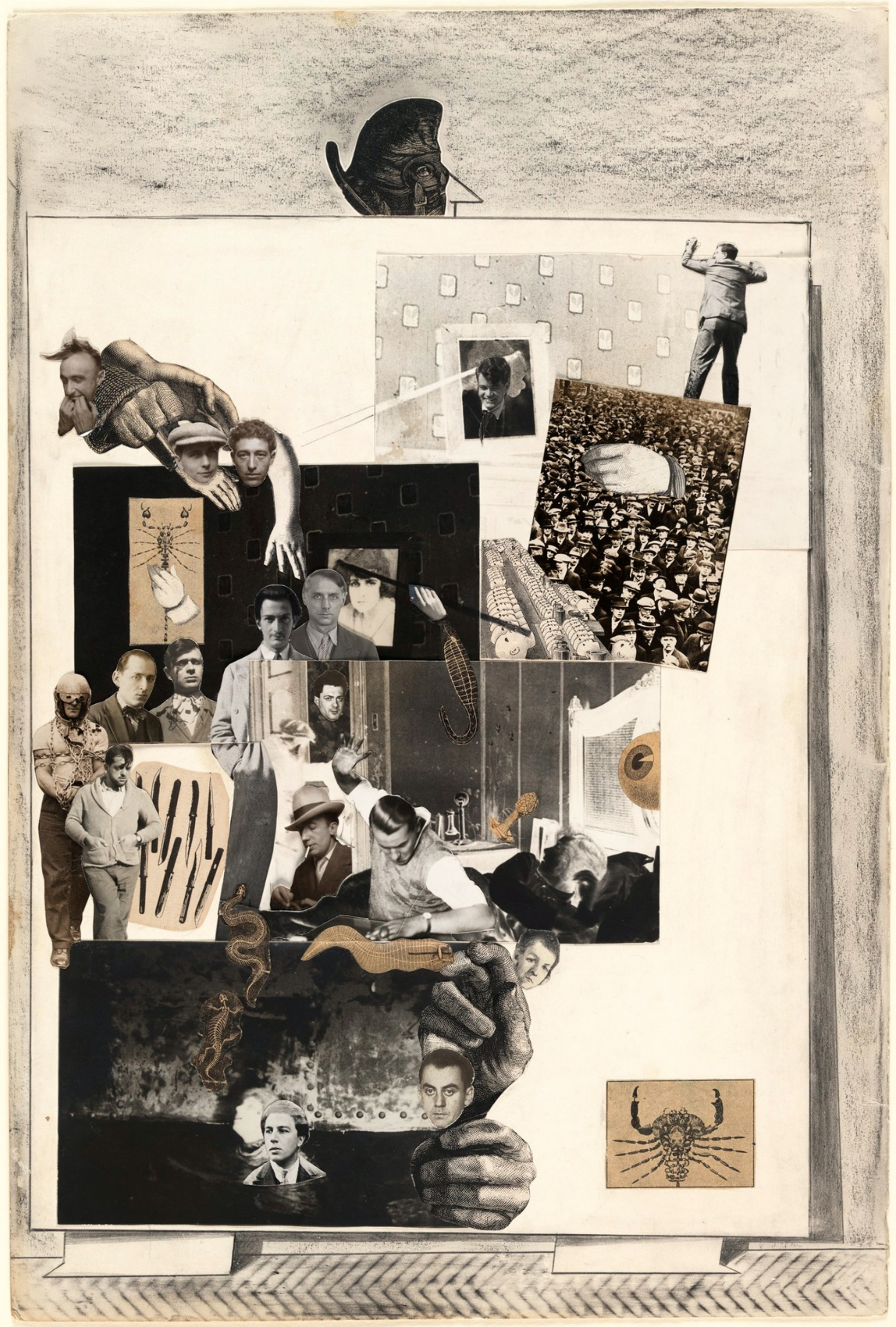


150 Albert Valentin, photomontage reproduced in *Variétés*, (1929–30)

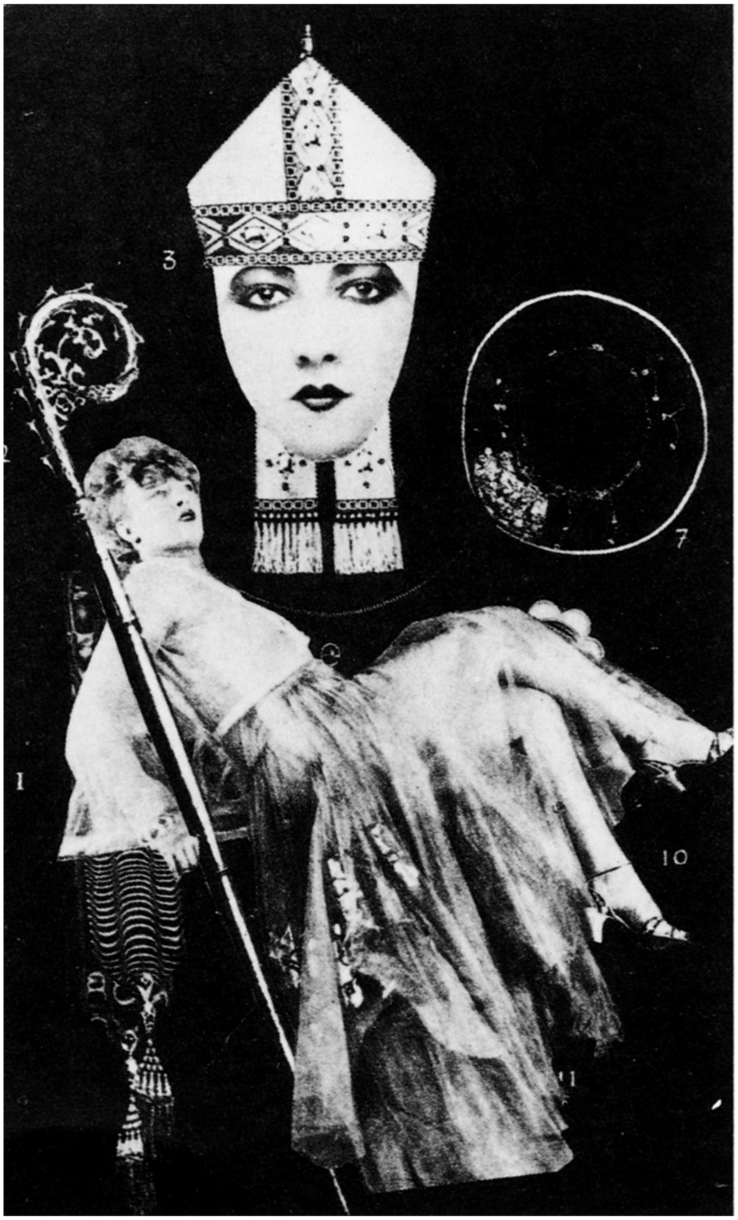


151 E. L. T. Mesens, *The Disconcerting Light*, 1926

In 1931, the current Surrealist review, *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution*, reproduced Max Ernst's narrative portrait of the Surrealist group, *Au Rendez-vous des Amis*, presumably to affirm the solidarity of the group. The title was borrowed from his painting of 1922, which had similarly celebrated the Paris Dada group Ernst had just joined. It is now more commonly called *Loplop Introduces Members of the Surrealist Group*; the head of Loplop, Ernst's alter ego, 'superior of the birds', appears above the internally framed group portrait, a picture within a picture.[**152**] The individual photographs wind up snake-like from the bottom, with Breton as the fountain-head or root, rising from a lake, Man Ray to the right of him, Ernst himself in the centre, touched by the fingers of a pudgy hand, Dalí standing in front of him, with Tzara to the left of him, and a wind-blown Yves Tanguy at the top left.



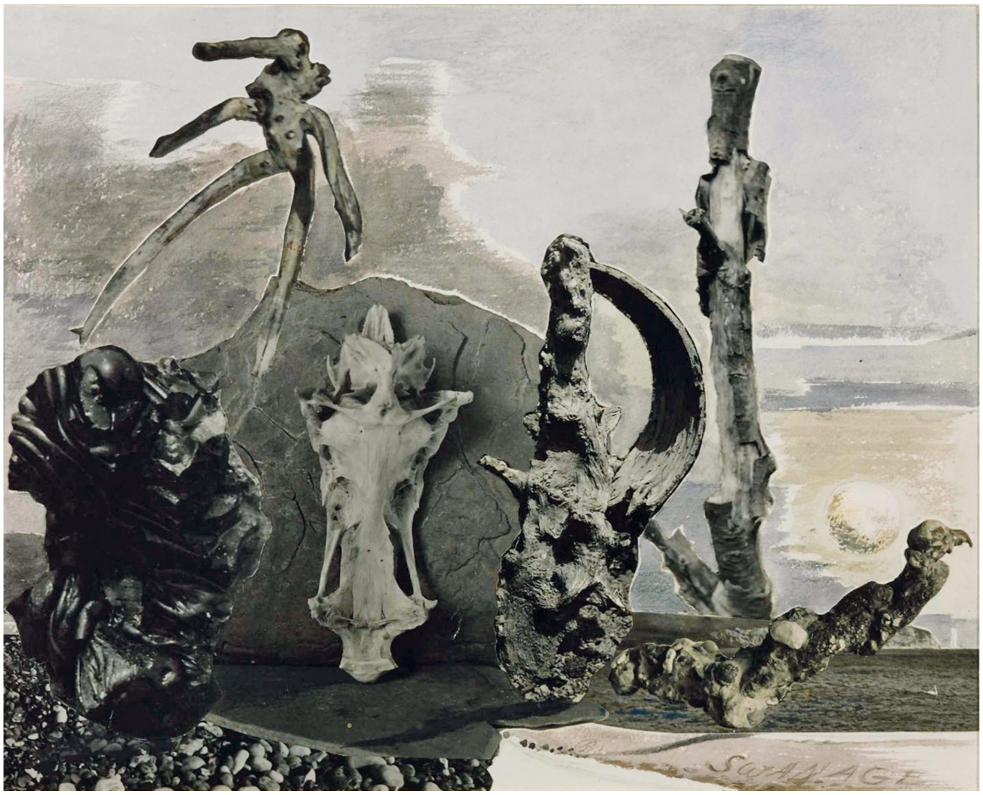
152 Max Ernst, *Loplop Introduces Members of the Surrealist Group*, 1930



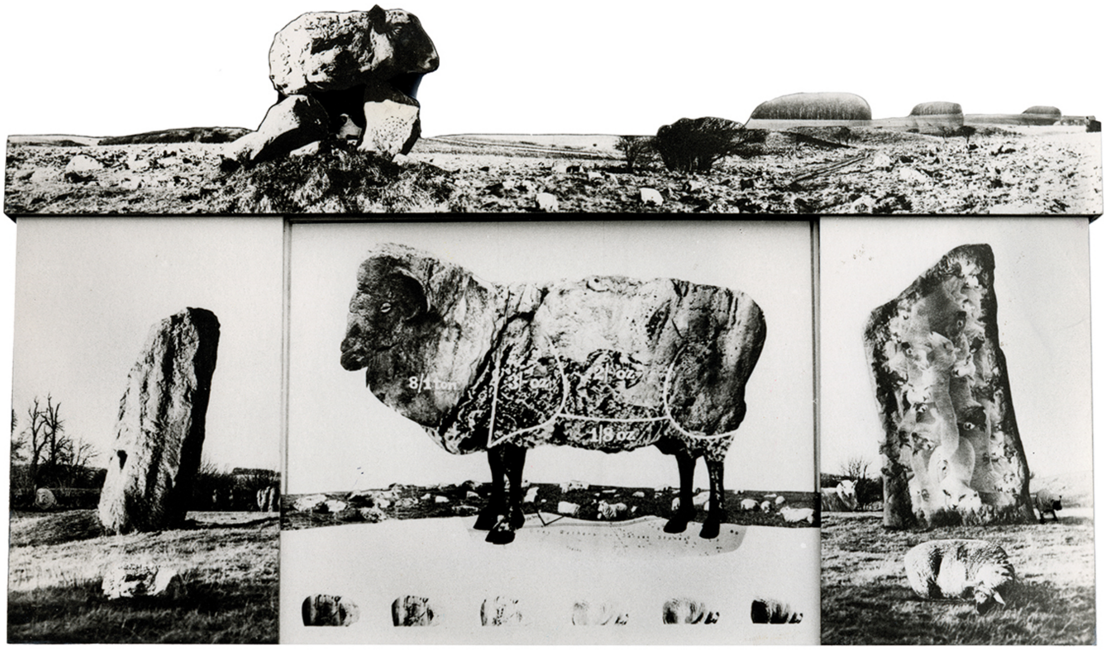
153 André Breton, *The Serpent (Egg in the Church or the Snake)*, 1932

The revived interest in photomontage among the Surrealists – an example by Breton was reproduced in *SASDLR* in 1933, entitled *Un temps de chien* (terrible weather, literally ‘dog’s weather’) – can be related to the cultivation of the Surrealist object. This, like photomontage, worked with the coinage of everyday reality, because Surrealist objects were constructed from ready-made or found objects.

In Paul Nash’s photomontage *Swanage*, all but the lone swan buffeted at sea have been replaced by his own found objects, photographed separately but here combined to complicate and extend their individual and potent existences.[**154**] As Nash said, ‘The more the object is studied from the point of view of its animation, the more incalculable become its variations; the more subtle becomes the problem of assembling and associating different objects in order to create that true irrational poise which is the solution of the personal equation.’[8] Driftwood, stone and branch here loom out of Studland Bay on a gigantic scale. For Nash, there was an inherent Surrealism in both the found objects of this part of Dorset, worked on by weather and the sea, in the prolific fossil remains and above all in the Surrealist architecture and monuments of Swanage, which he described in his article ‘Swanage or Seaside Surrealism’.[9] Sometimes, indeed, it is difficult in reproduction to tell the difference between a photomontage and a photograph of a composite object. In *The Torrents of Spring*, by the Belgian Surrealist Marcel Mariën, a tap sprouts tresses of hair, and it takes a few seconds to decide that this is in fact a photographed object.[**156**] In Mariën’s *Crystal Blinkers*, one of the best of recent Surrealist publications, an enormous range of works using photographs, objects and sometimes words explore the metaphorical and subversive uses of photomontage. *Incest* is a fairly straightforward photomontage, but in *Spirit of Laws* the effect of a montage is created by placing the symbol for ‘and’ between two breasts.[**157**]



154 Paul Nash, *Swanage*, *c*. 1936


8|1 ton
3|oz
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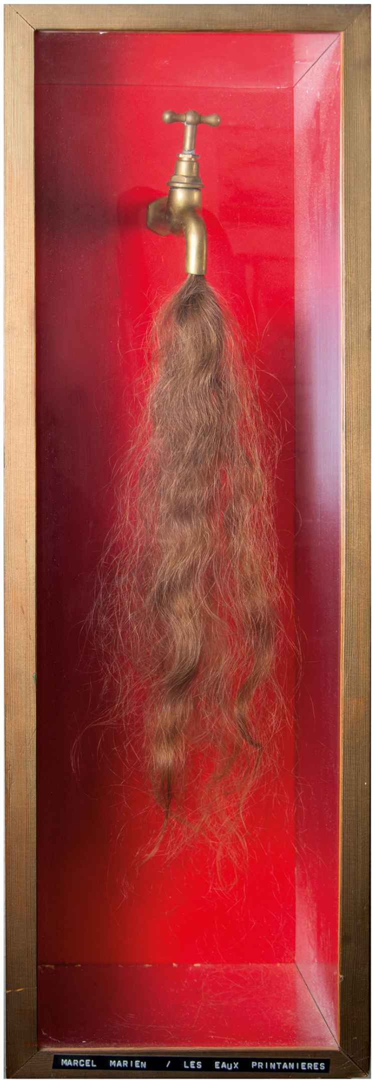
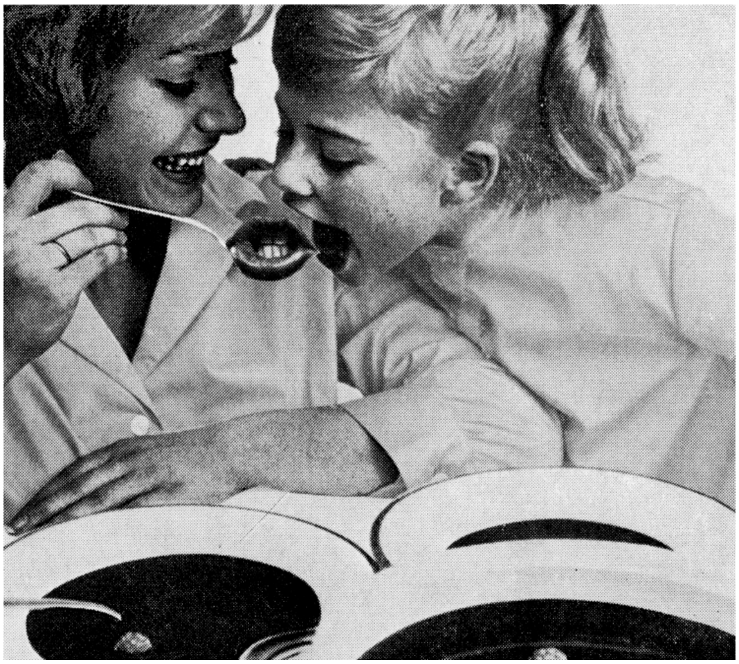
1|8 oz
Grey Wethers or Sarsen Stones

155 Roger Leigh, *Sarsens*, or *Grey Wethers*, 1974

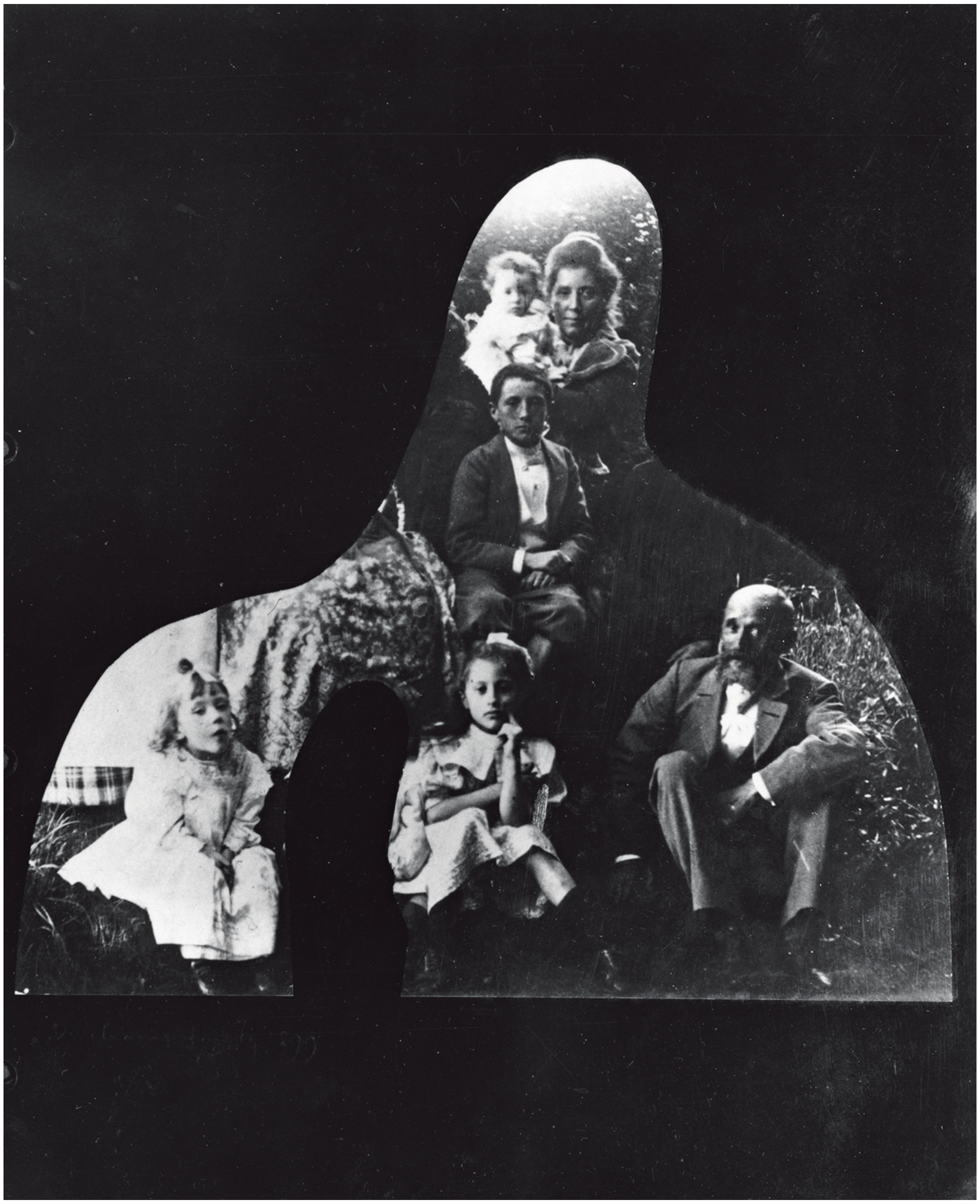

MARCEL MARIEN / LES EAUX PRINTANIERES

156 Marcel Mariën, *The Torrents of Spring*, 1966

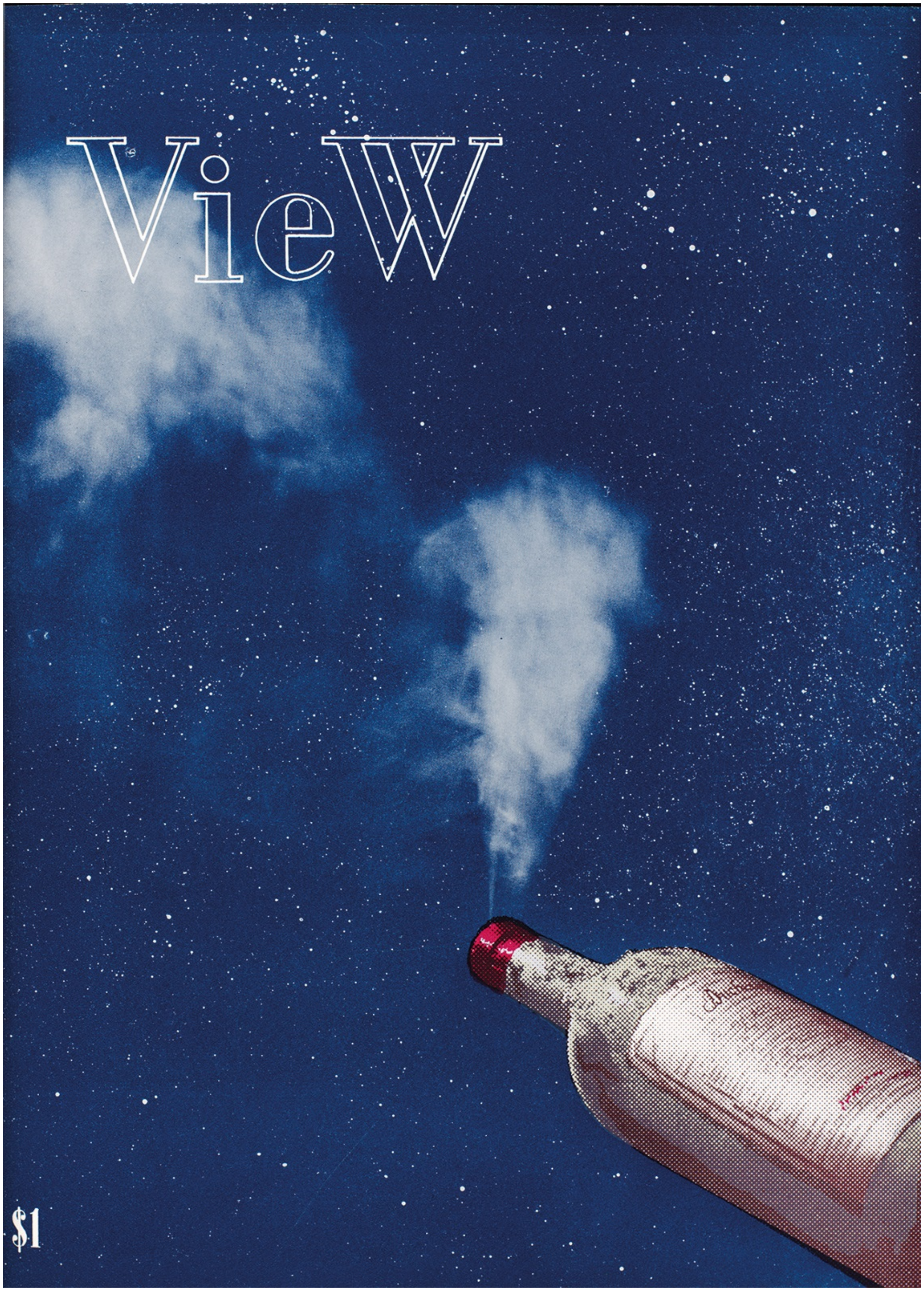


157 Marcel Mariën, *Incest*, 1968

Marcel Duchamp's cover of *View* (March 1945) is partly montage, partly fantastic and ingenious object.[**159**] The label on the wine bottle is Duchamp's *livret militaire* (service record), the grey cellar-dust droppings of sawn grey cardboard. The smoke comes from a hidden pipe. The star-trek sky is a 'toothbrush offspring of frottage' (a toothbrush loaded with paint splattered on the paper). There were other stages in the montage involving 'magical little half-tone screens which push the peppery stars way back into the telescopic reality of the Milky Way, at the same time isolating and pointing up the wine bottle in all its glory.'[10]



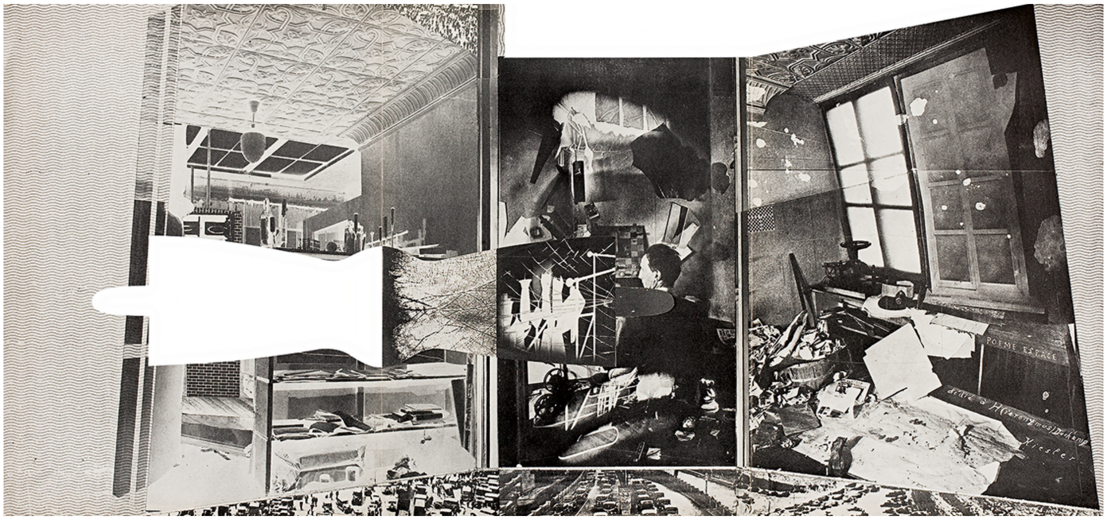
158 Marcel Duchamp, *Family Portrait, 1899*, 1964



159 Marcel Duchamp, cover of *View*, March 1945

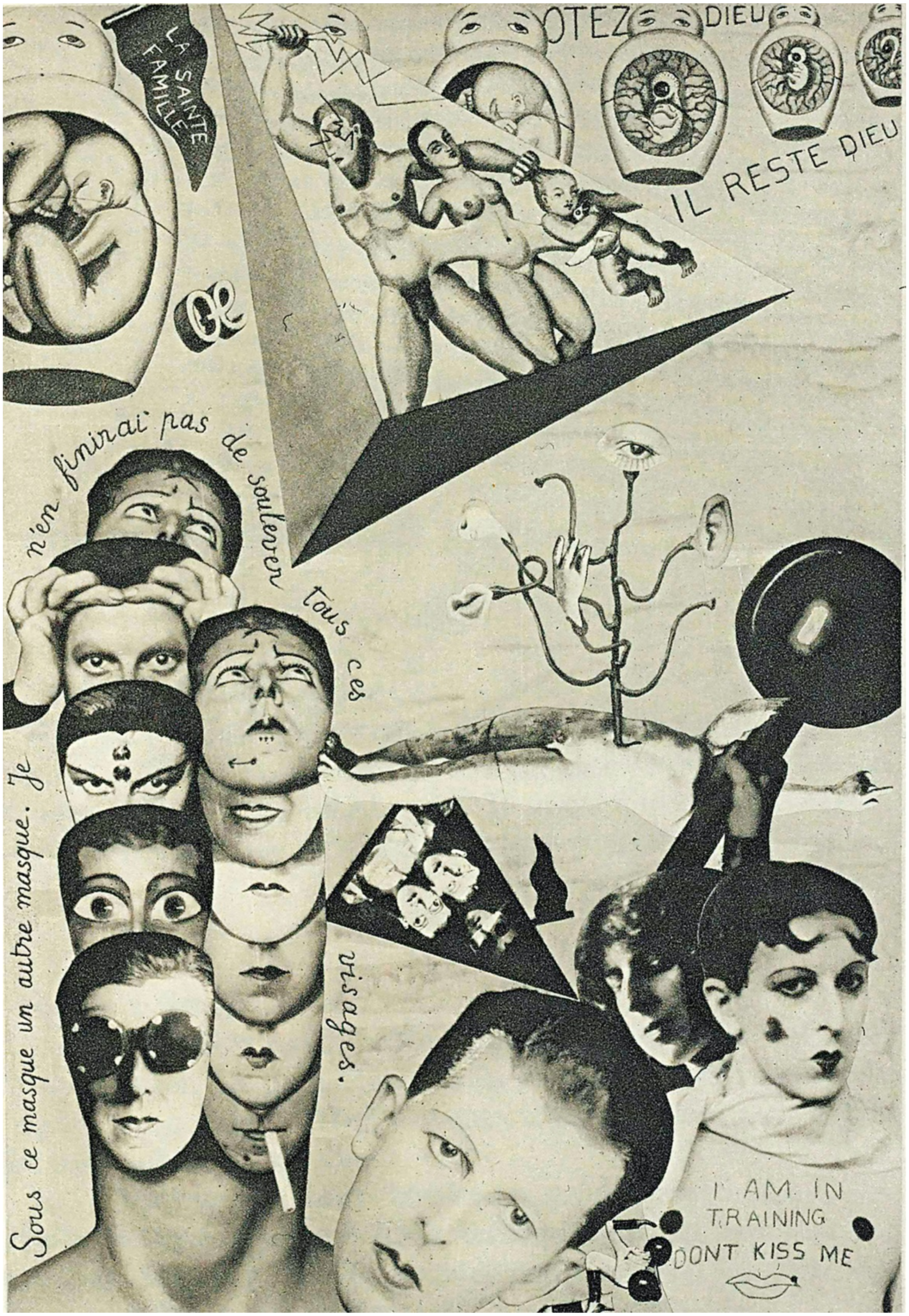
The same issue of *View* (a special Duchamp number) reproduced a complex photographic montage by Kiesler, based on photographs by Percy

Rainford, of Duchamp's studio and several works, which folded in and out to create new contexts and combinations.[160] Duchamp once used a family snapshop as readymade to be altered, blocking himself out with a black shape that parallels that which frames the entire image.



160 Friedrich Kiesler *Les larves d'imagie d'Henri Robert Marcel Duchamp* 1945, from *View* V, no. 1, March 1945 (Duchamp issue). The triptych shows three walls of Duchamp's studio on 14th Street, New York. When the cut-out panels on the flaps are folded in, the inner wall (and Duchamp himself) are transformed into a ghostly vision of his *Large Glass*, *The Bride Stripped Bare by her Bachelors, Even* (1915–1923). The photographs were by the New York photographer Percy Rainford.

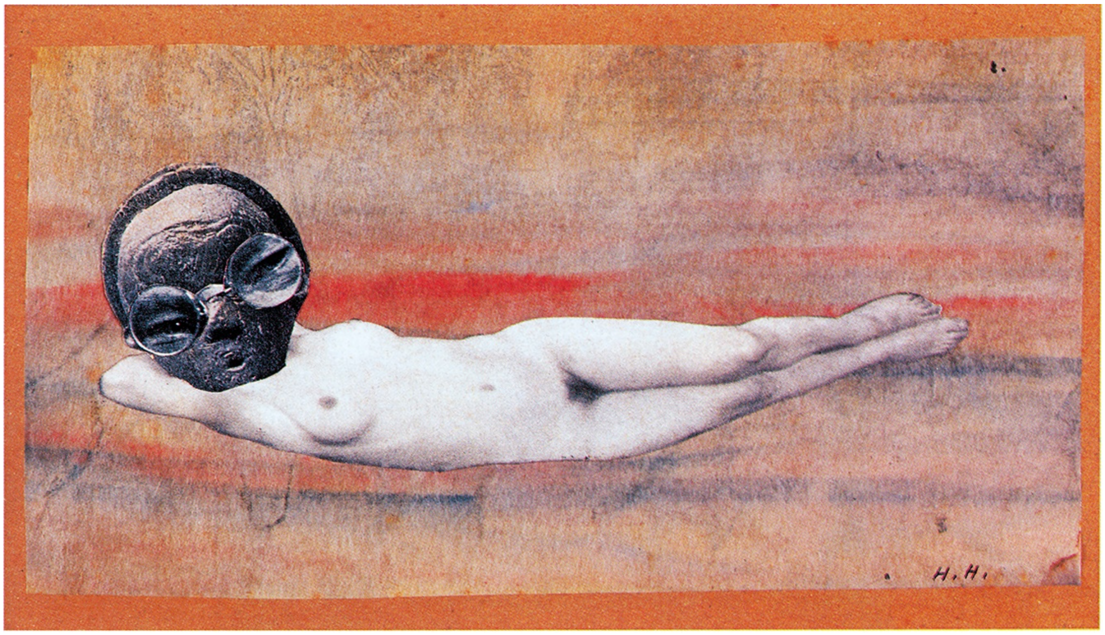
In 1930 Claude Cahun published a book of poetic 'confessions', *Aveux non avenus* (translated as Disavowals or Cancelled Confessions), which was illustrated with eight photomontages.[161] The photomontage reproduced here is inscribed 'Under this mask another mask/I shall never finish removing all these faces'. The images were created using the photographs Cahun made in collaboration with her partner Marcel Moore, for which she is now best known. In them she adopted different personae and identities, often playing with gender. Both she and Moore (originally Lucie Schwob and Suzanne Malherbe) had adopted gender-neutral names. Cahun's philosophic narcissism is inflected by her rejection of sexual binaries and preference for a genderless look, captured by the camera.


LA SAINTE FAMILLE
OTEZ DIEU
IL RESTE DIEU
Je n'en finirai pas de soulever tous ces visages.
Sous ce masque un autre masque.
I AM IN TRAINING DONT KISS ME

161 Claude Cahun, from *Aveux non avenus 'Sous ce masque un autre masque…'* (*Disavowed Confessions or I.O.U. [Self-Pride]*), 1929–30

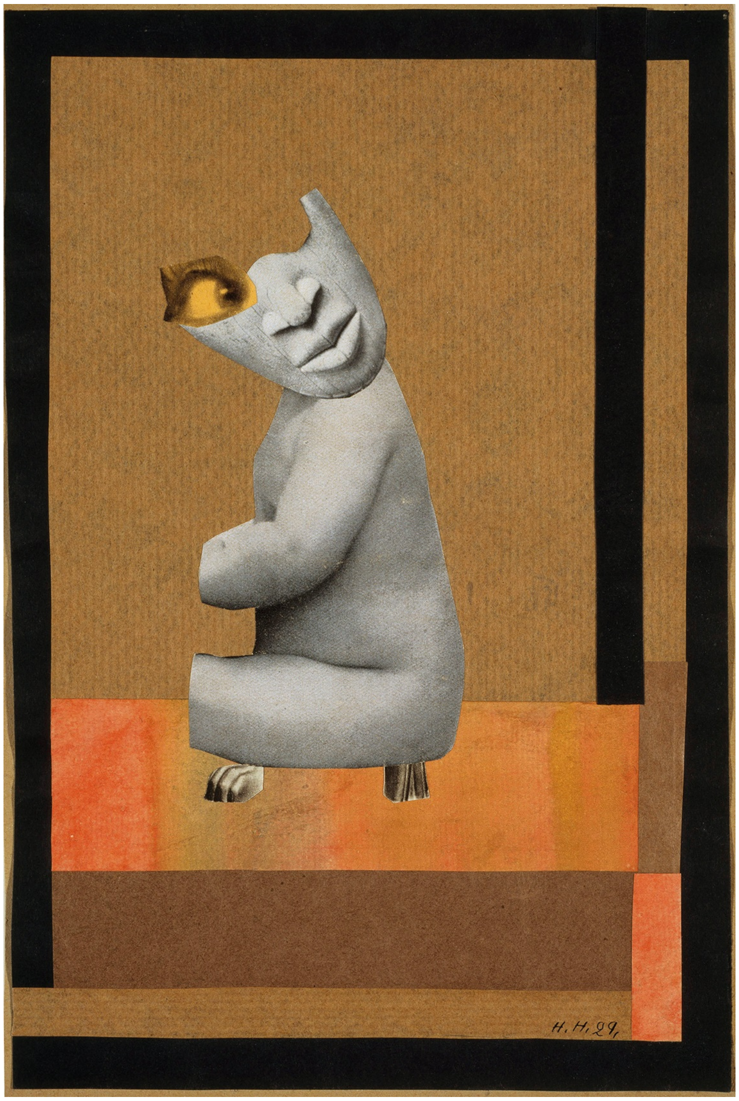
In the early 1930s, special stress was laid on the ‘symbolic functioning’, in an erotic sense, of the Surrealist object. While the early Surrealist objects might function analogically, or invoke fetishism, photomontage could work in an apparently more direct way on the human body. Already in their Dada photomontages, Ernst, Baargeld and Höch, for instance, disrupt, truncate or replace parts of the body, rendering the familiar strange. The body can be re-conjugated as oddly and troublingly as are Bellmer’s Surrealist dolls, with disrupted scale, replacement or repetition. The practice of doubling is one that becomes central to Surrealist photography. Doubling, of course, is not restricted to photomontage, nor to Surrealism. Florence Henri, who would normally be associated with the Bauhaus and with non-objective photography, used mirrors and framing devices to achieve a similar effect. Man Ray’s doubled breasts (from *La Révolution surréaliste*) and Brassaï’s *Ciel Postiche*, reproduced in *Minotaure*, no. 6, 1934/5, use this device in different ways.[**162**] Brassaï constructs, from the montage of two parts of a torso, a lowering hilly landscape. It appears to be a folding, a kind of inverted repetition, of the same image but is in fact a juxtaposition of the front and back views of the body. The horizontal alignment of the nude in Brassaï’s photomontage is ‘natural’, but often the cut-out part of the body or object is rotated to de-familiarize it further.

162 Brassaï, *Ciel Postiche* (*False Sky*), 1935, from *Minotaure*, no. 6, 1934/5

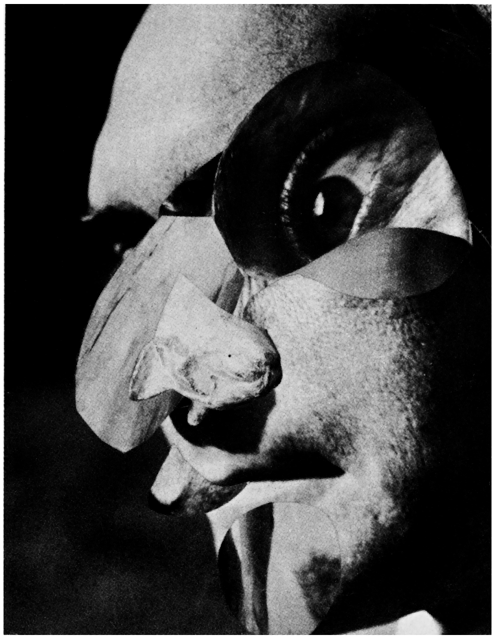


163 Hannah Höch, *Foreign Beauty*, 1929

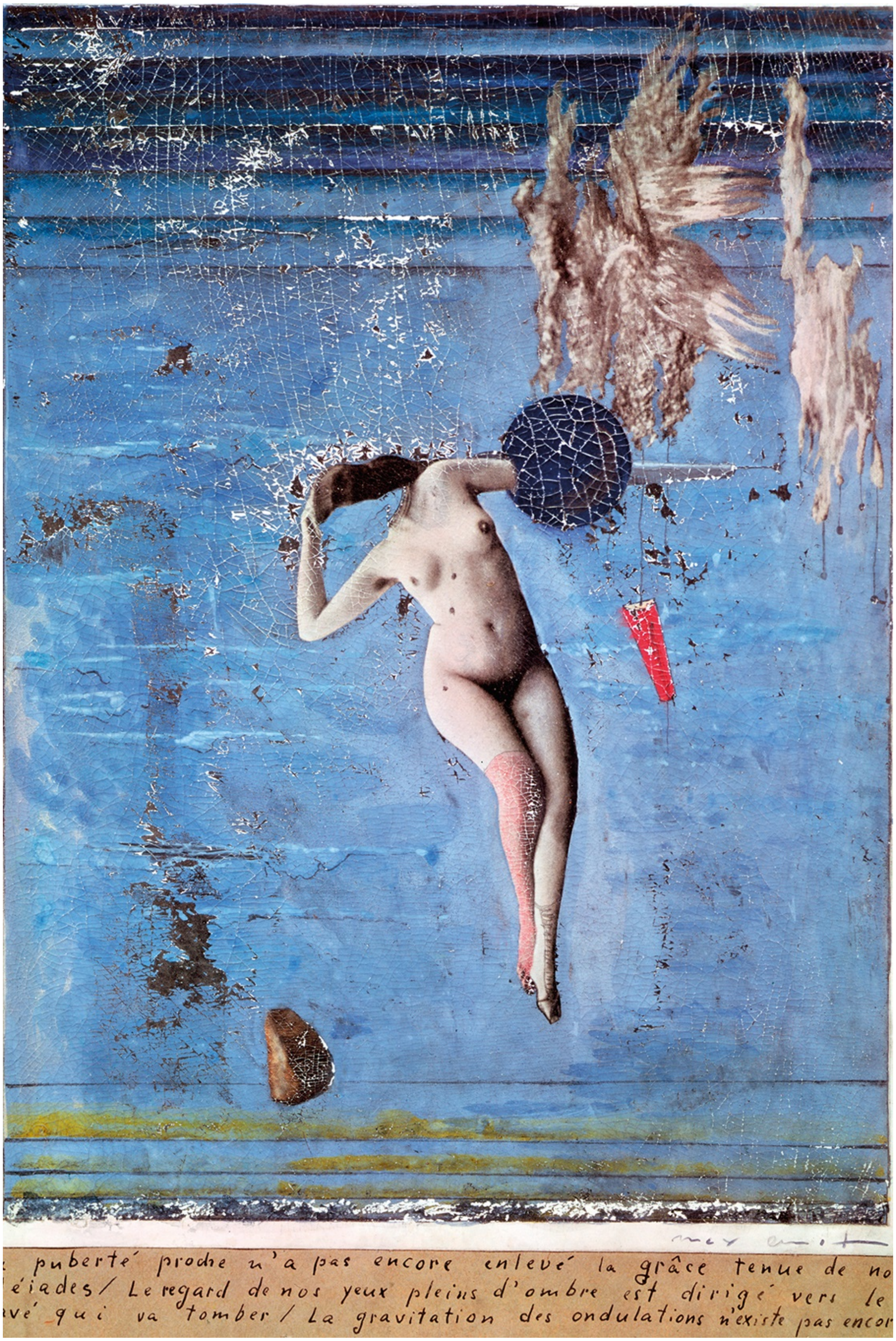
A mysterious image at first sight, like *Ciel postiche,* Andrew Lanyon's *Seahorse* hints at a landscape or seascape; the dark shape outlined against the sea resolves into the fragment of a horse's haunch, but the contours and light on the body still conjure up vistas of a different scale.[178] It plays on the gap between verbal and visual collage: photographs of 'sea' and 'horse' are brought together in a literal take on the word 'seahorse', a creature the image does not resemble at all.



164 Hannah Höch, *From an Ethnographic Museum*, 1929

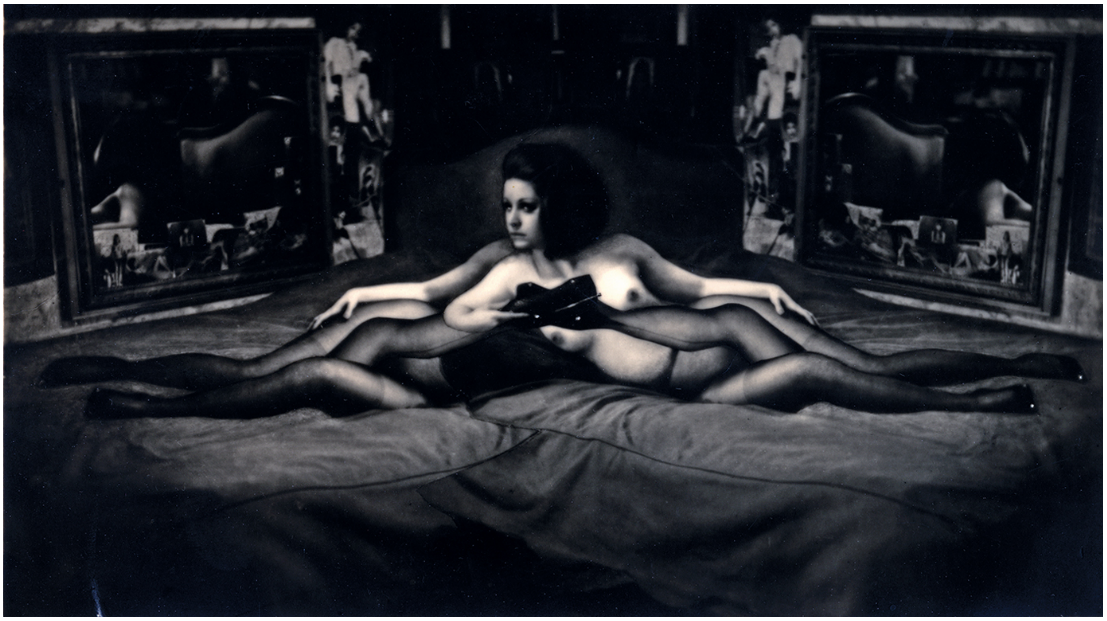


165 Raoul Hausmann, photomontage, 1946

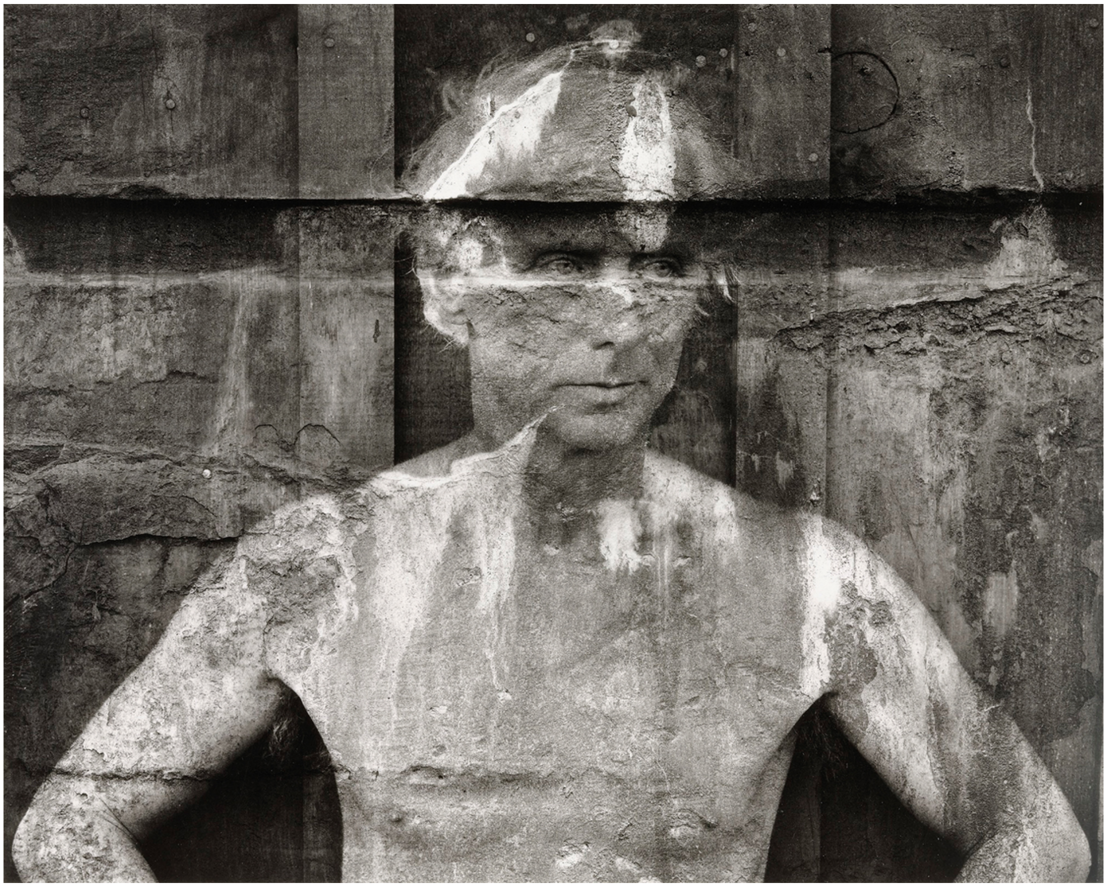

puberté proche n'a pas encore enlevé la grâce tenue de no
éiades/ Le regard de nos yeux pleins d'ombre est dirigé vers le
vé qui va tomber/ La gravitation des ondulations n'existe pas encor

166 Max Ernst, *Les Pléiades*, 1921

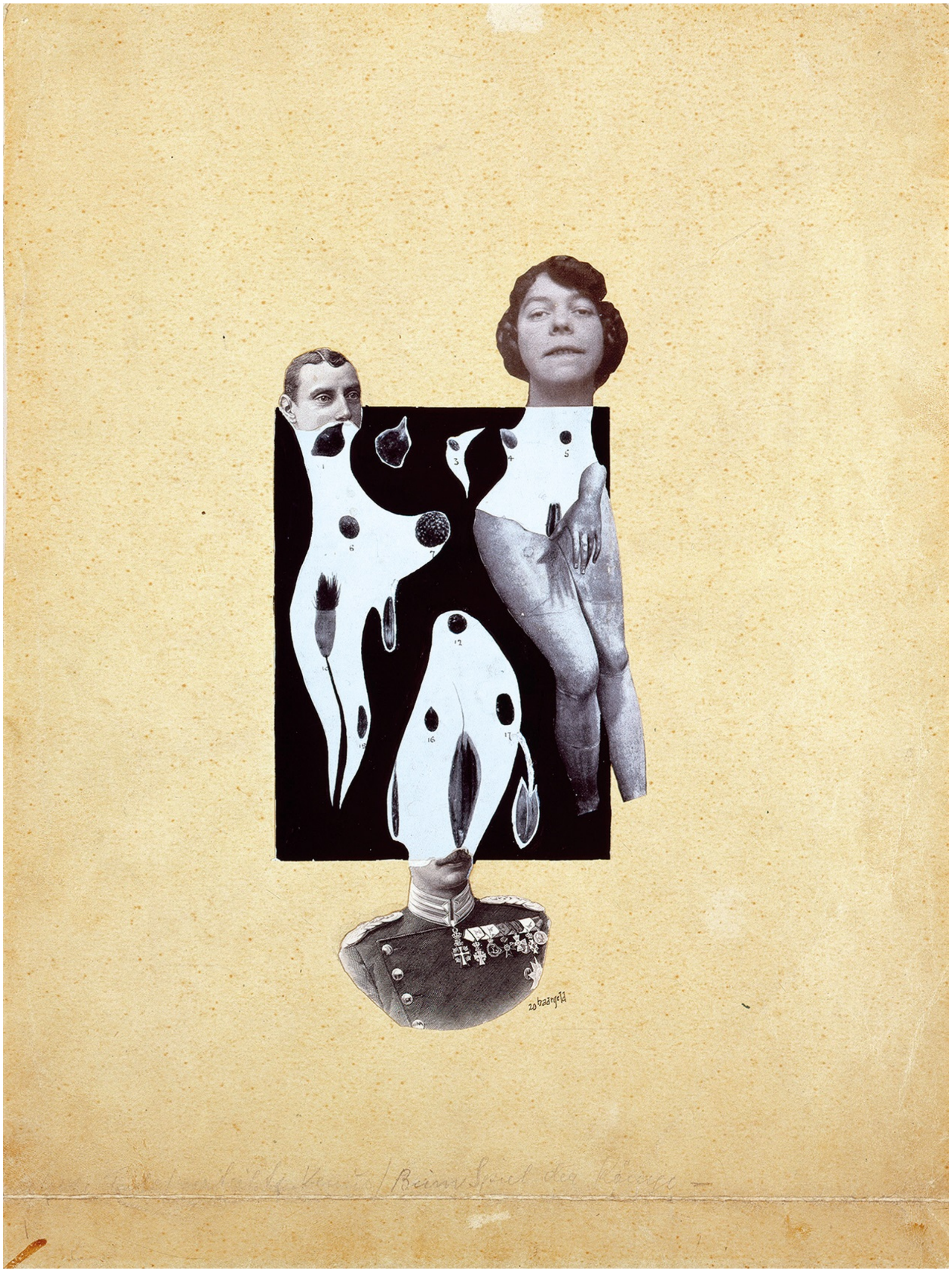
Raoul Ubac, a number of whose works were reproduced in *Minotaure* (1933–39), developed various techniques by which objects, the body, the landscape or cityscape were subjected to a process of transformation. Like Man Ray, he used solarization and also petrification, by which the image is sandwich-printed slightly out of register, which gives the effect of a shallow relief. *The Wall* and *Penthesilia* (both 1937) were produced by a complex process of montage and petrification.[**170**]



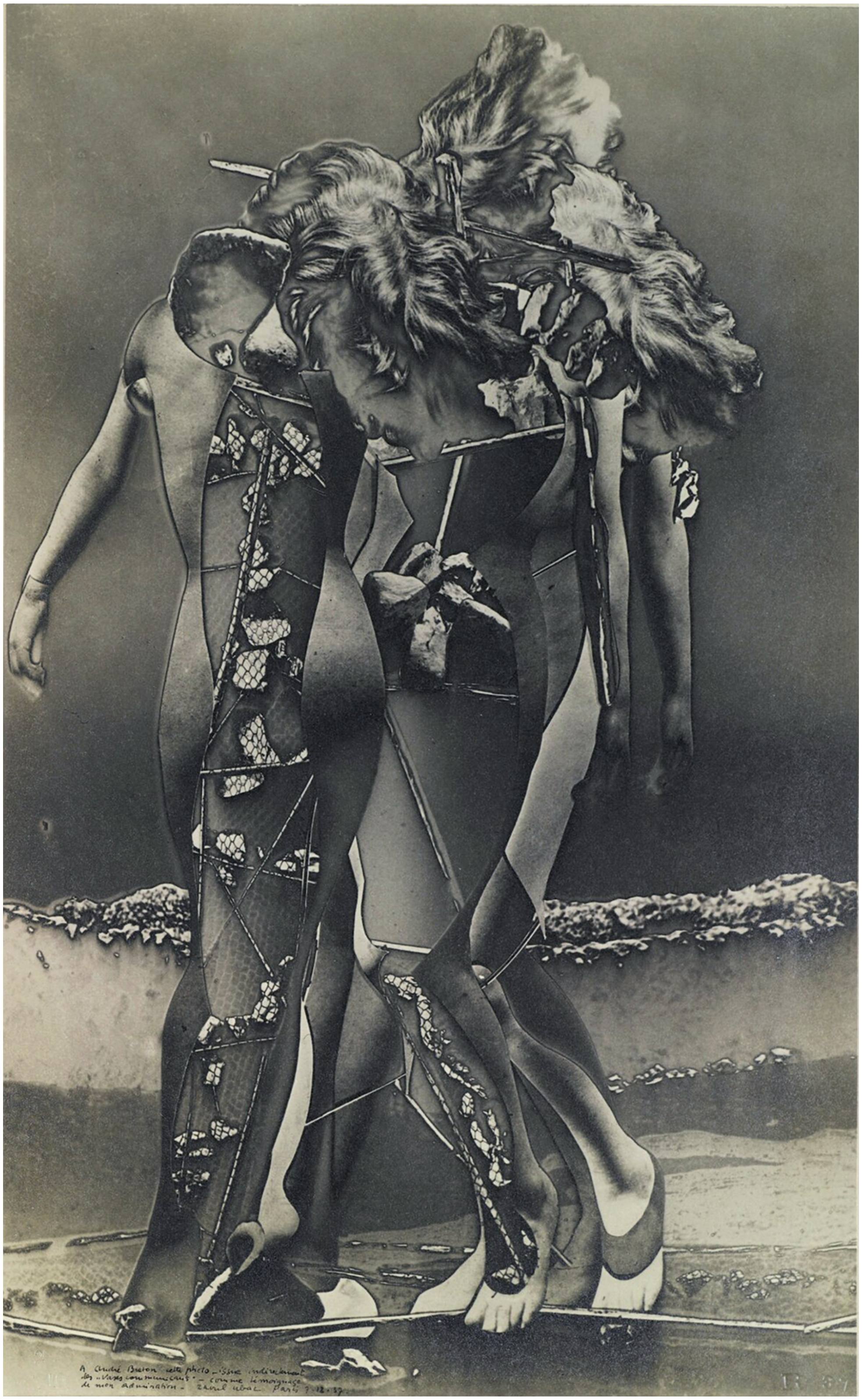
167 Pierre Molinier, *Les Hanel 2*, 1928



168 Frederick Sommer, *Max Ernst*, 1946

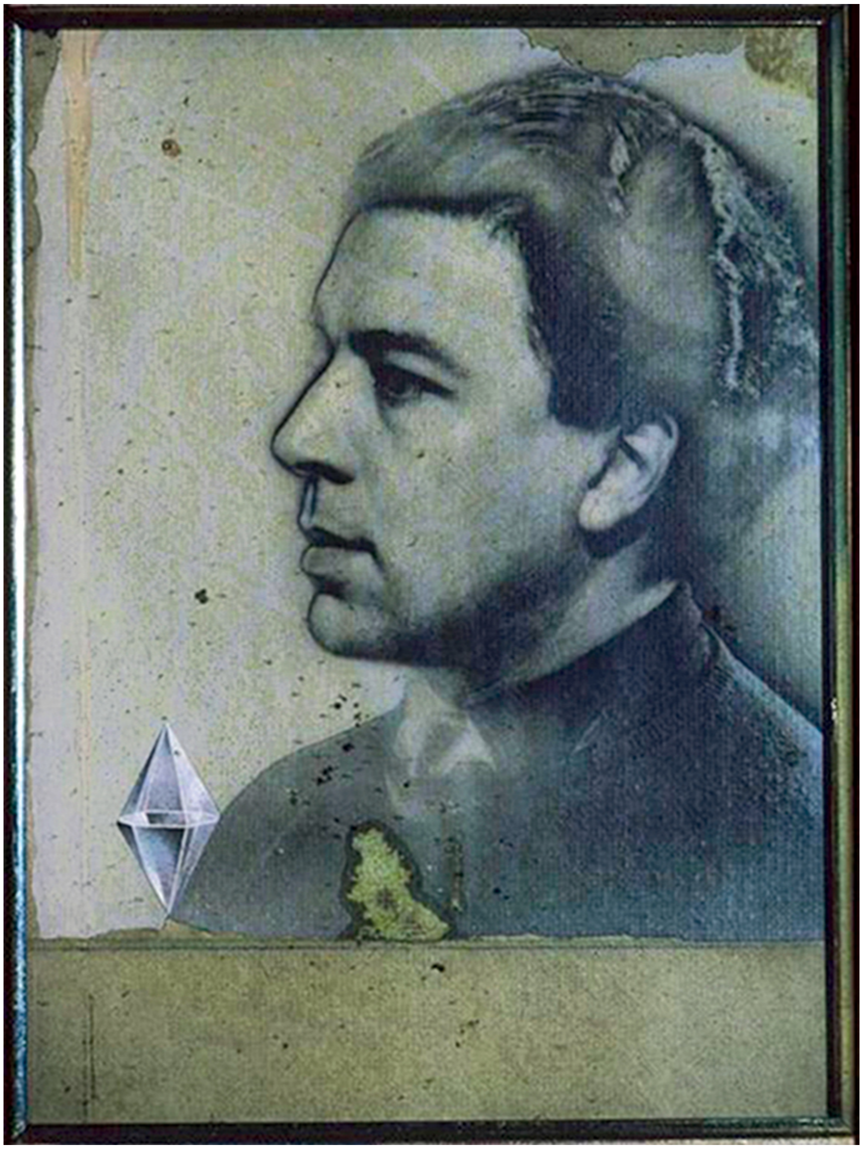


169 Johannes Baargeld, *Venus and the Game of the Kings*, 1920

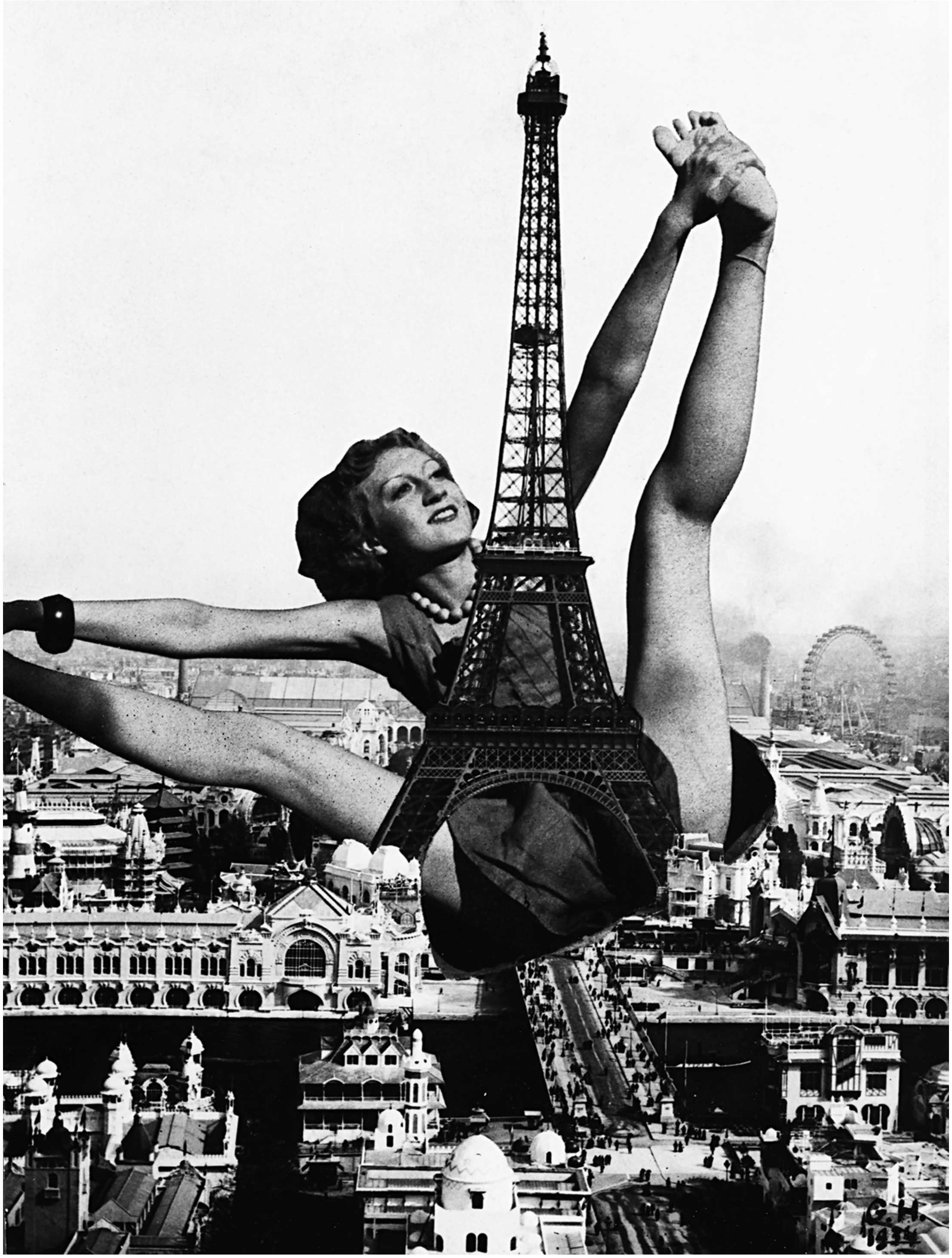

A André Breton cette photo – issue indirectement
des „Vases communicants" – comme témoignage
de mon admiration – Raoul Ubac Paris 7.12.37
R 37

170 Raoul Ubac, *Penthesilia*, 1937

While photographers experimented with new techniques – besides Man Ray and Ubac, in connection with Surrealism one could add Dora Maar, David Hare, Brassaï, Frederick Sommer – for the artists, writers and poets of the movement, photomontage and collage were, like the Surrealist object, accessible as an activity. The craft skills of the painter were not necessary. Breton himself, the poet Paul Eluard and his wife Nusch were among those who produced collages and photomontages. Joseph Cornell, one of the first Americans to be influenced by Surrealism and best known for his fantastic object-boxes, turned increasingly to the making of collages using primarily photographic reproduction; for example, he combined a solarized portrait of Breton by Man Ray with the cut-out photograph of a faceted rock crystal. [**171**, **172**] Georges Hugnet, poet and bookbinder, also constructed a number of objects and photomontages, often erotic in character.



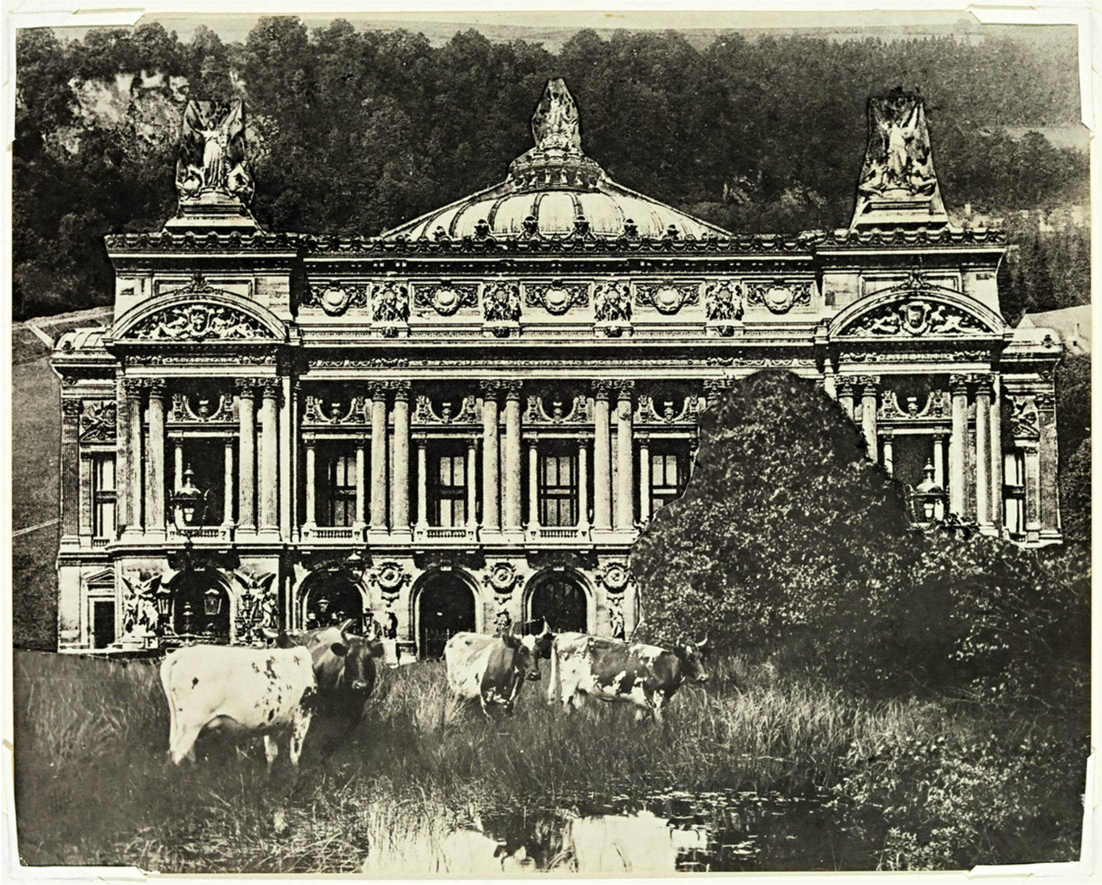
171 Joseph Cornell, *Untitled* (Breton collage)/*Le Tournesol de Minuit*, 1966



172 Georges Hugnet, *Untitled*, 1936

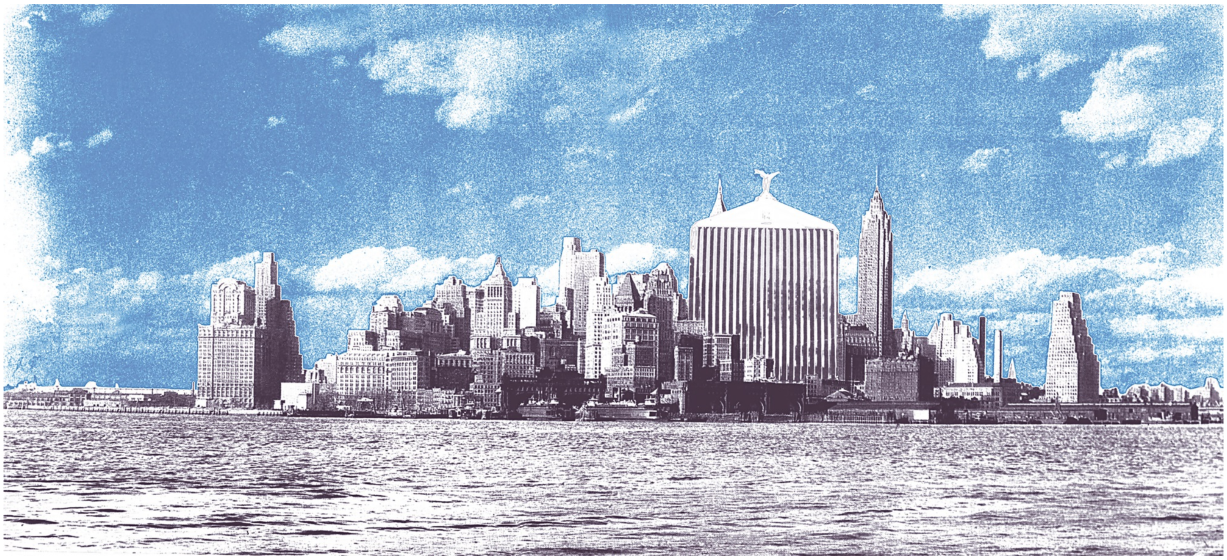
By the 1930s, what had become known as a ‘Surrealist’ mode was well established in commercial and fashion photography. This might involve montage, or the massing of bizarre objects around the figure or in the scene that was to be photographed. Cecil Beaton and Angus McBean, for example, employed what they clearly thought of as a Surrealist mode. An equation is made between ‘Surrealist’ and ‘fantastic’, and so embedded has this equation become that even Susan Sontag can write, ‘The Surrealist legacy for photography came to seem trivial as the Surrealist repertoire of fantasies and props was rapidly absorbed into high fashion in the 1930s’.[11] The point that should be made is that the manipulated or theatricalized photograph is actually in a minority in the Surrealist reviews, and the greatest Surrealist montages, like Brassaï’s *Ciel Postiche*, while admittedly manipulated, are altered in such a way that the process is at first hidden. This montage reveals a further reality, not a substitution of a fantastic for a real world. It bears out precisely what Sontag, again, says: ‘Surrealism lies at the heart of the photographic enterprise: in the very creation of a duplicate world, of a reality in the second degree’. The manipulation serves in this case to emphasize and illuminate the duplication. The problem arises because of a narrow understanding of Surrealism. It has come to stand for a suppression of the real, a substitution of the fantastic for a ‘discredited’ world of reality, whereas what it was concerned with was an extension and deepening of what is understood by ‘the real’.[12]

It is noticeable that the abrupt disruptions of scale that were a common feature of Dada photomontages (with Ernst and Höch, for instance) are less common in Surrealism, or at least less obvious. Disjunctions and dislocations occur within the ‘real’ scene, as in Magritte’s *Paris Opera*, which rises in the middle of a field of cows.[**173**] Unlike the fragmentation of the Dada collage or photomontage, there is an apparent continuity of space. When, as must be the case in the metaphorical treatment of body/landscape, there is an alteration of scale, this is not immediately made visible.



173 René Magritte, *Paris Opera*, 1929

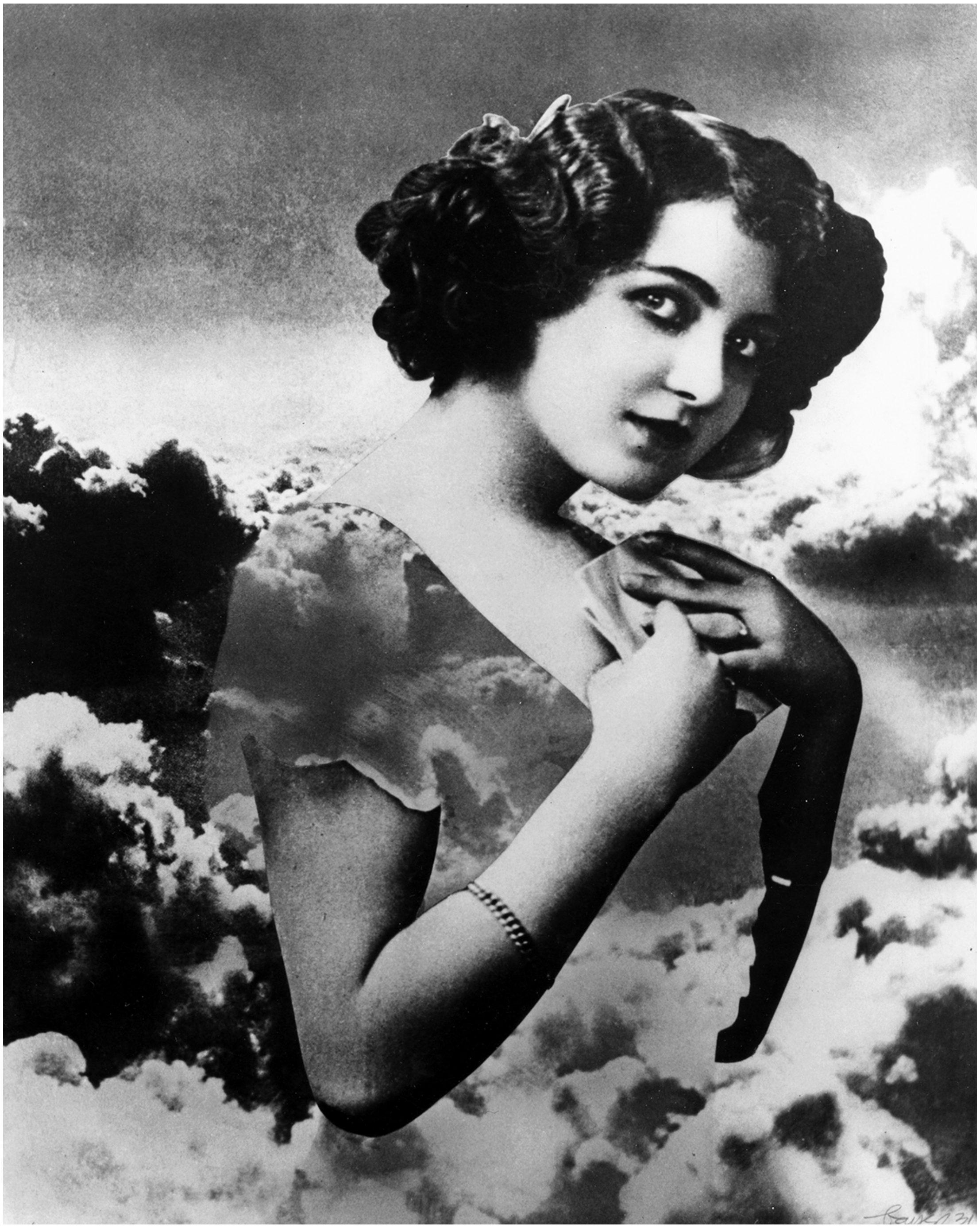
Games with scale are often central to photomontages by Hans Hollein, which also have parallels with Ernst’s Dada photomontages.[174] An object or part of an object is isolated and placed in a landscape that is strange to it, but with which unexpected analogies are set up: a Rolls Royce radiator grill rises up among the Manhattan skyscrapers, incongruously paralleling their shapes.



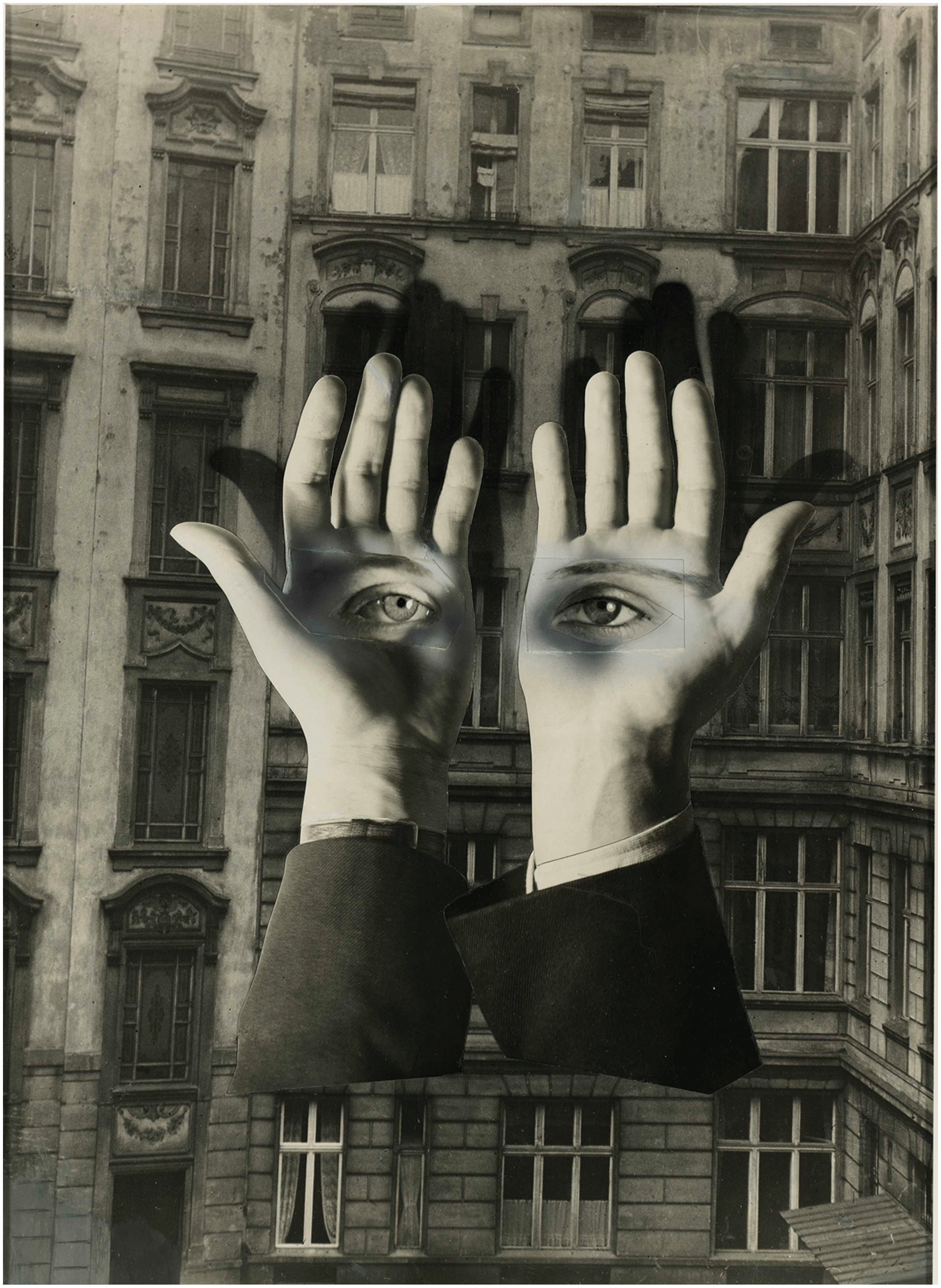
174 Hans Hollein, *Rolls Royce Grill on Wall Street*, 1966

Superimposition can make objects or parts of the body that are of a different scale apparently exist on the same spatial plane. In Penny Slinger's *The Abysmal* (1975), the bound naked body, confronting the viewer, is suggestively positioned over the façade of an old mansion.[**188**] *The Abysmal* is a critique of Surrealism's objectification and idealization of the female body, where it had often been identified in harmony with nature. Slinger, showing the woman trapped and silenced, disrupts this on several levels. It is interesting to compare Slinger's photomontage with those of Linder, whose feminism takes a different route through a critique of popular stereotypes of women and sex. *The Abysmal* is also is a challenging and witty response to Herbert Bayer's *Lonely Metropolitan* (1932), in which the metaphorical connection between windows and eyes, bodies and houses is brilliantly condensed in a single image – in this case constructed from cut photographic fragments rather than by superimposition.[**176**]

Herbert Bayer was not a Surrealist. He in fact taught at the Bauhaus and was best known for his graphic design and typographic innovations; but he practised the witty manipulation of photographs in a manner that clearly has the 'Surrealist dream' in mind. In *The Language of Letters*, a woman's body is constructed of the sky.[**175**] It obviously has something in common with Magritte, but perhaps lacks the ontological dimensions of Magritte's transformations, where it is, for instance, a *bird* that is made of sky. In the 1930s, Bayer made photomontages for the covers of *Die Neue Linie*.



175 Herbert Bayer, *The Language of Letters*, 1931



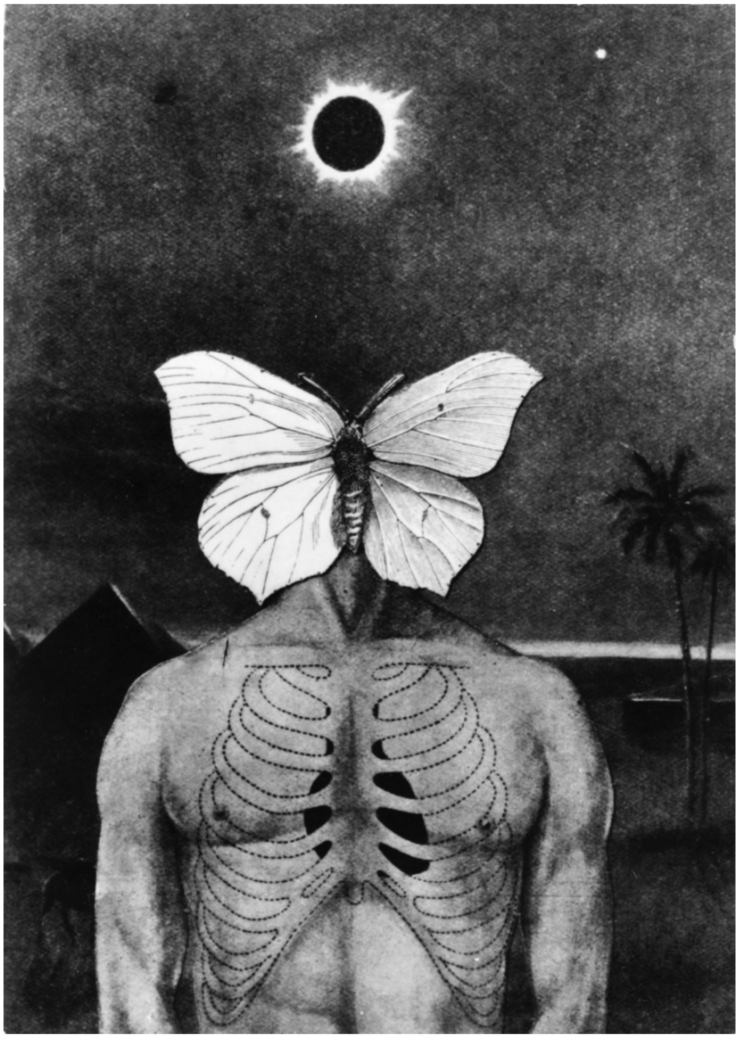
176 Herbert Bayer, *Lonely Metropolitan*, 1932

The original, pioneering feminist photomontages Grete Stern made for the women’s magazine *Idilio*, in Buenos Aires, have a direct link to dreams.

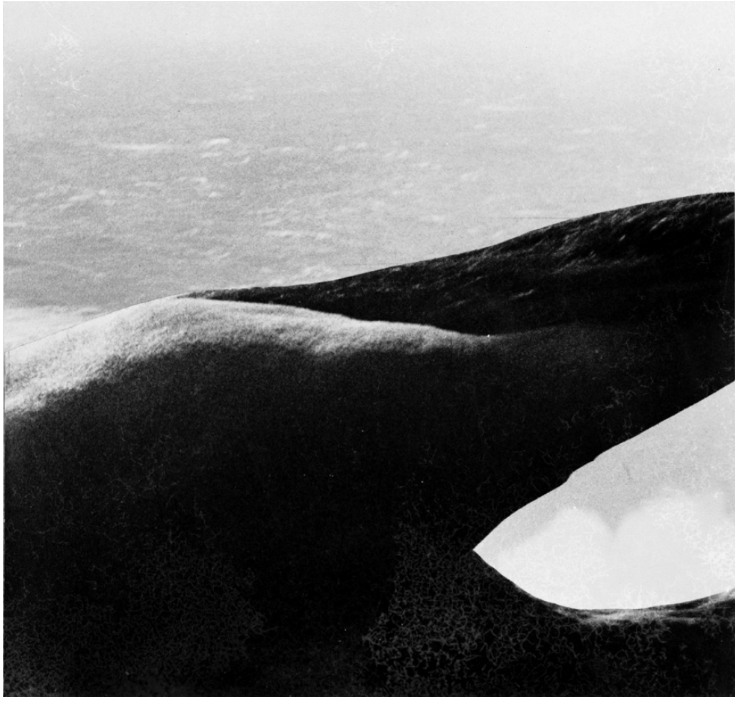
Stern had trained as a photographer in Germany and joined the photography workshop at the Bauhaus in the early 1930s, but left following the rise of Nazism, settling in Argentina.[**180, 181**] From 1948 to 1951 she made a series of photomontages to accompany articles in *Idilio* entitled ‘Psychoanalysis will help you’. The magazine’s female readers were invited to share their dreams, which were then analyzed, and an aspect picked out by Stern to create an image. Stern cut and pasted her own photographs, often using her daughter and cleaning lady as models; the powerful dream scenes she constructed very clearly, and sometimes humorously, reveal women’s oppressive social and personal position, their fragility, powerlessness and anxieties.

The practice of photomontage has continued to develop in the context of Surrealism with succeeding generations of artists. In the UK, this group included Conroy Maddox, who had met the Surrealists in Paris in the late 1930s and by 1939 was a member of the movement. Although he worked mainly in oil and gouache, he also made a number of Surrealist objects and humorous montages, such as *Uncertainty of the Day* (1942).[**191**] The writer and filmmaker Jacques Brunius left France for England in 1940, after the outbreak of the Second World War, and, with E. L. T. Mesens, contributed to the spread of Surrealist ideas. For Brunius, as for many writers, poets, filmmakers and painters, making a photomontage was an occasional but fruitful practice.

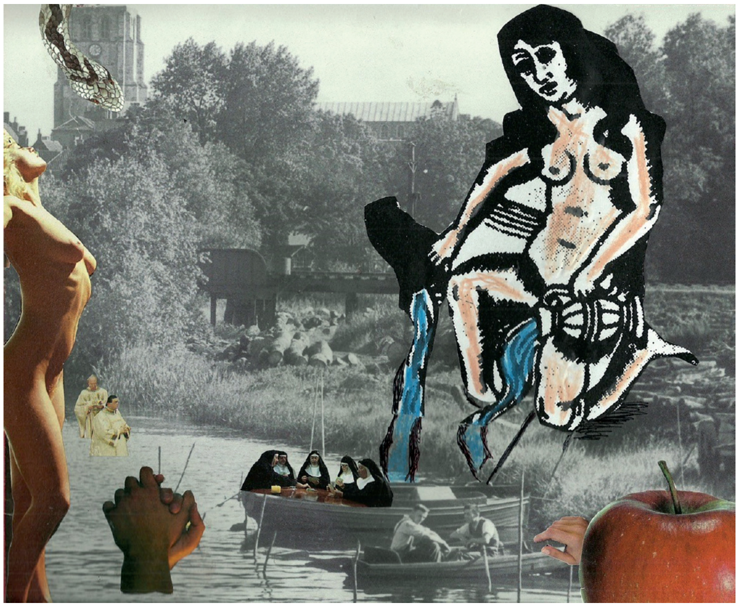
A recent publication paid homage to one of the greatest Surrealist texts: André Breton’s *ARCANE 17* (1944). In 2017, *André Breton’s ARCANE 17: A lodestar for the 21st century*, edited by Patrick Lepetit, John Richardson and John Welson, gathered contributions from Surrealists all over the world to celebrate collectivity as a central strand of Surrealist activity. The images published in the book are collaborations between two or more people, which grew from fragments including photographs, woodcuts, prints and paint. One such piece, *The Tragedy of Katherine of Aragon*, was the result of an invitation from John Welson, who is based in Wales, to Michel Remy, who is based in France, to begin a collage-picture and pass it on to Welson to continue and conclude.[**179**] In Welson’s words, the result is ‘a maelstrom of interactions, a cornucopia of contradictions and yet some underlying coherence of thematic theatre exists’.[13] Seduction, temptation, ritual and gambling intersect, with references to Eve, the serpent and the apple, a party of nuns playing cards, a couple of bemused rowers, two priests up to their waists in a parody of baptism and heaps of tree trunks jostling like sheep, all under the sign of the Tarot card Les Etoiles (the stars), in which a woman pours water from two vessels – a symbol of hermetic conjunction and here, the sign of double authorship. The image remains suspended and disorienting rather than resolved, the title adding ‘another stratum of unease for the observer’.



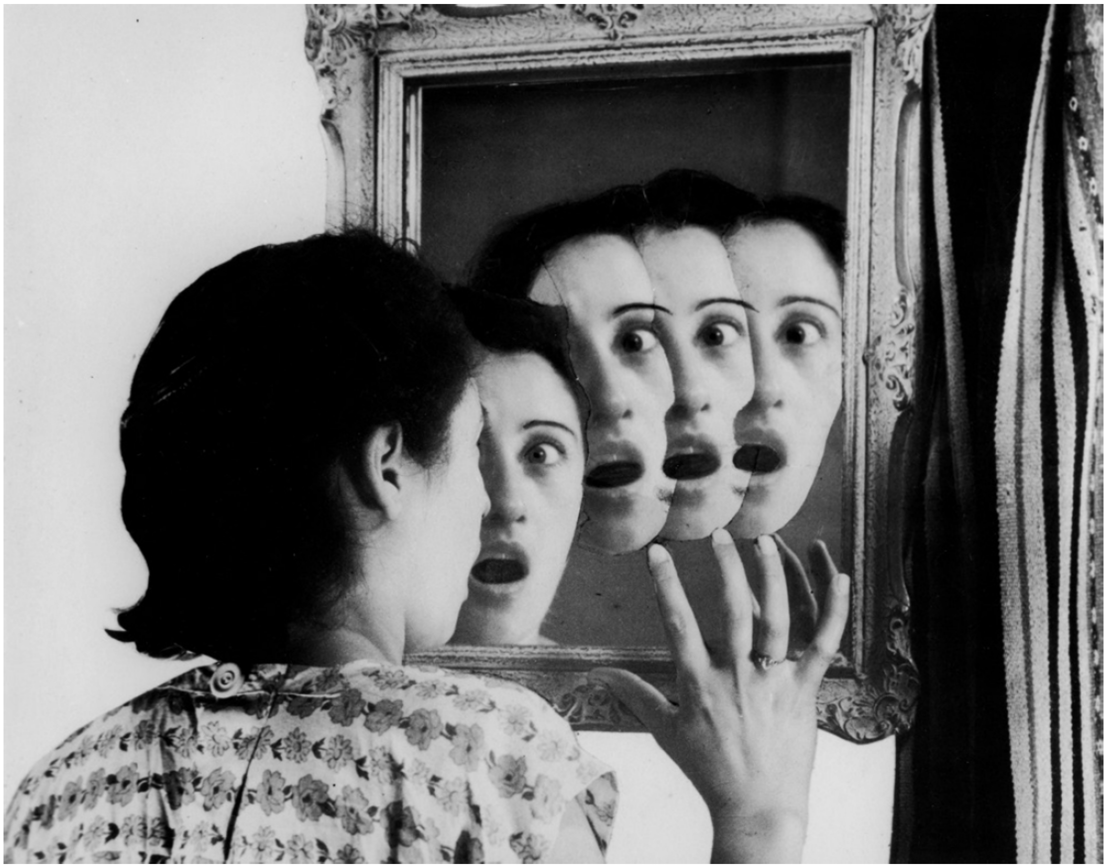
177 Andrew Lanyon, *Eclipse, c.* 1967



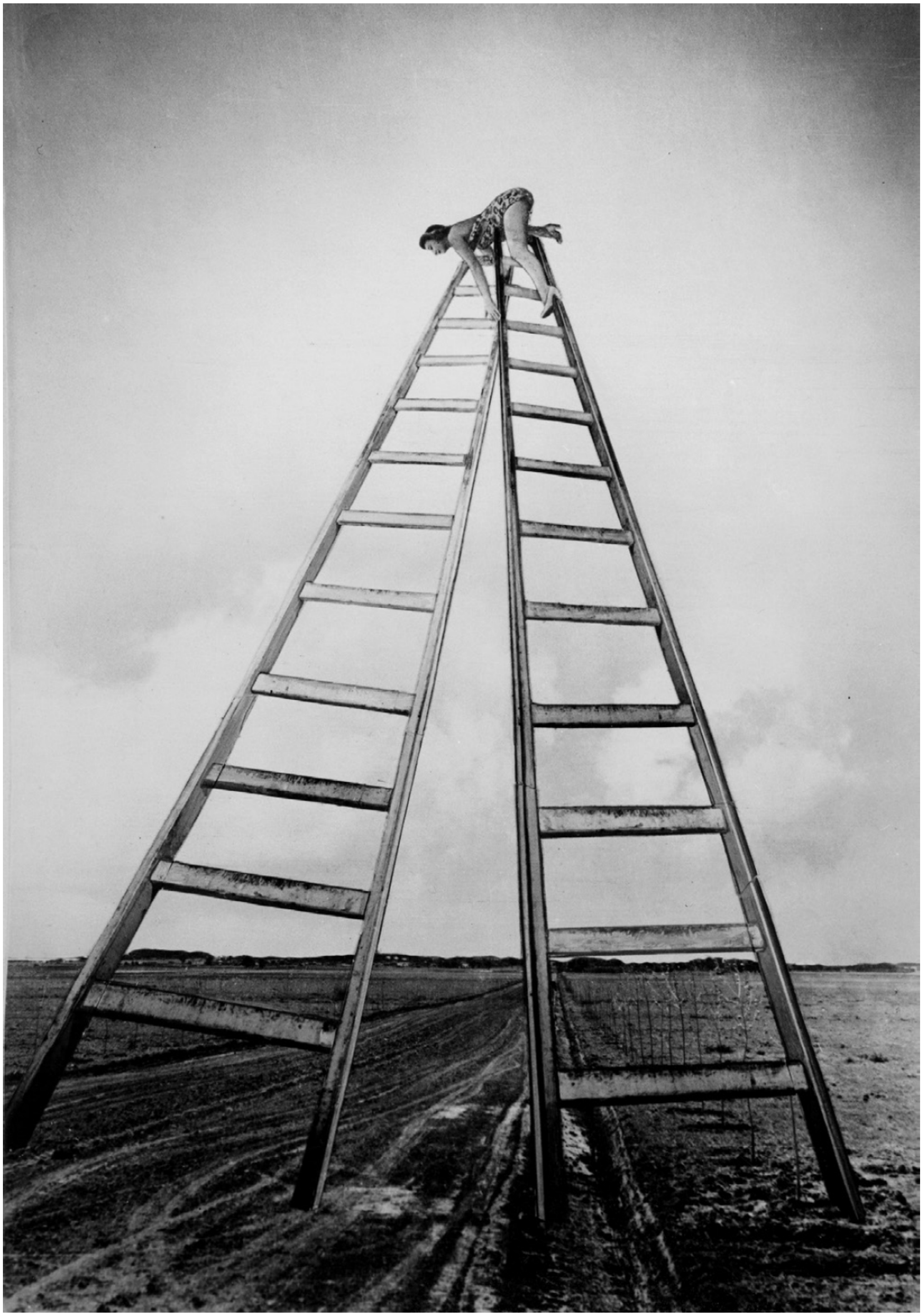
178 Andrew Lanyon, *Seahorse*, 1968



179 Michel Remy and John Welson, *The Tragedy of Katherine of Aragon*, from *André Breton's Arcane 17*, 2017

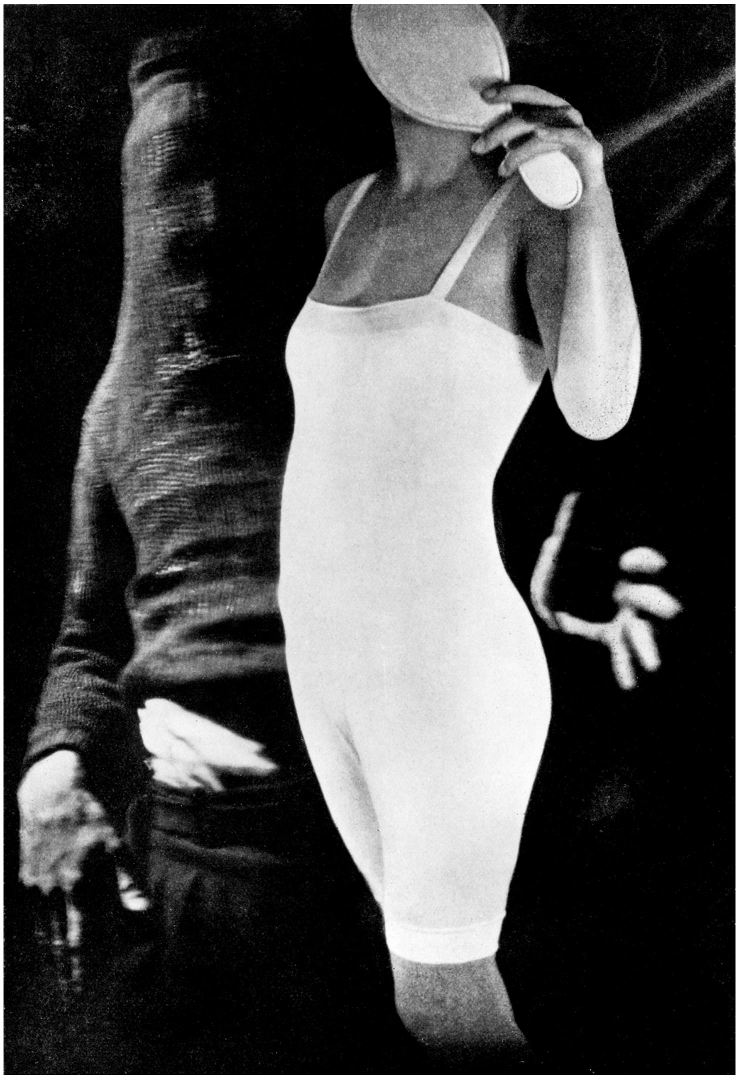


180 Grete Stern, *Sueño no. 7, Quien Será*, 1949



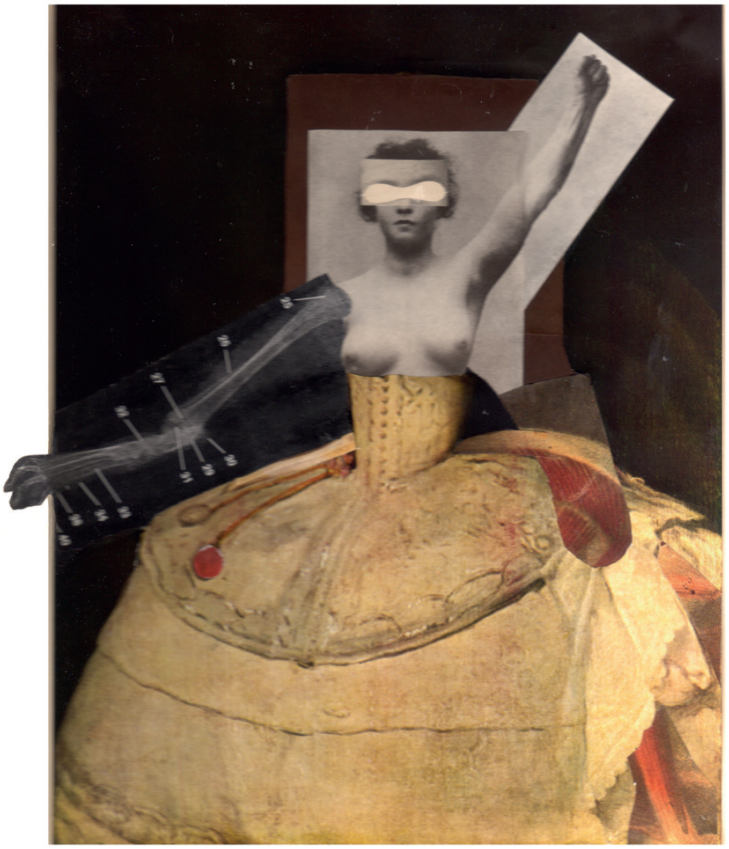
181 Grete Stern, *Sueño no. 20, Perspectiva*, 1949

The work of the Czech artist and filmmaker Jan Švankmajer is at the heart of Surrealist activity in Prague, where Surrealism has had perhaps its most continuous existence. Film and photography have been central to the Czech group's activities, and photomontage has sometimes emerged in unusual ways. Švankmajer has frequently used montage in his films, where it is fundamental to the imaginative investigation of the borders of what we take to be the real. In his 2010 film *Surviving Life*, however, he brings in photomontage as a static element, filmed as part of his exploitation of film's capacity to confuse reality, virtual reality and the imaginary.[**182**] He also completed a few independent photomontages prior to making the film, in place of the more usual storyboards.[14]

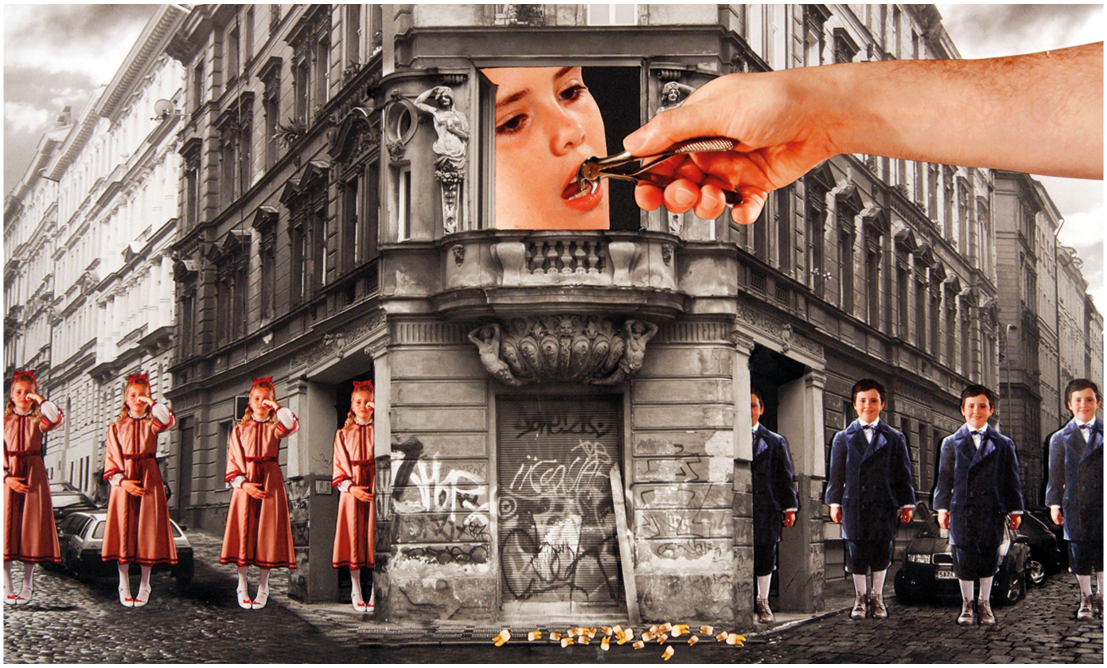


182 Maurice Tabard, *Hand and Woman*, 1929

Many artists who do not necessarily owe any particular allegiance to Surrealism have adopted similar approaches to photomontage, among them Jerry Uelsmann and the Catalan artist Jordi Cerdà.[189] Other artists, although working independently and not self-identifying as Surrealists, are nonetheless very close in practice and sensibility to Surrealism.[190] Kathy Bruce, for example, acknowledges Surrealism and especially the work of women artists like Dorothea Tanning, who were linked to the movement, as an inspiration both in terms of her working process, in which the unconscious plays a crucial role, and in her fascination with early colonial Spanish–Peruvian imagery, which she sees as Surrealist in its visions of unearthly transformations and miraculous subversions of nature.[183, 224] Bruce always starts with a photographic fragment, and she then adds other materials to create a layered but integrated surface in which, she says, 'collage and photomontage exist as equal parts'. She is not interested in merging photographs into a smooth surface, but in constructing a layered structure, like a sculpture, from a single photographic scrap. In *Menina II*, the material, sculptural quality she seeks is built up from bodily and anatomical components rising from a seventeenth-century Spanish dress, one arm of the female nude transforming into a male fist in a striking gender switch.[183]

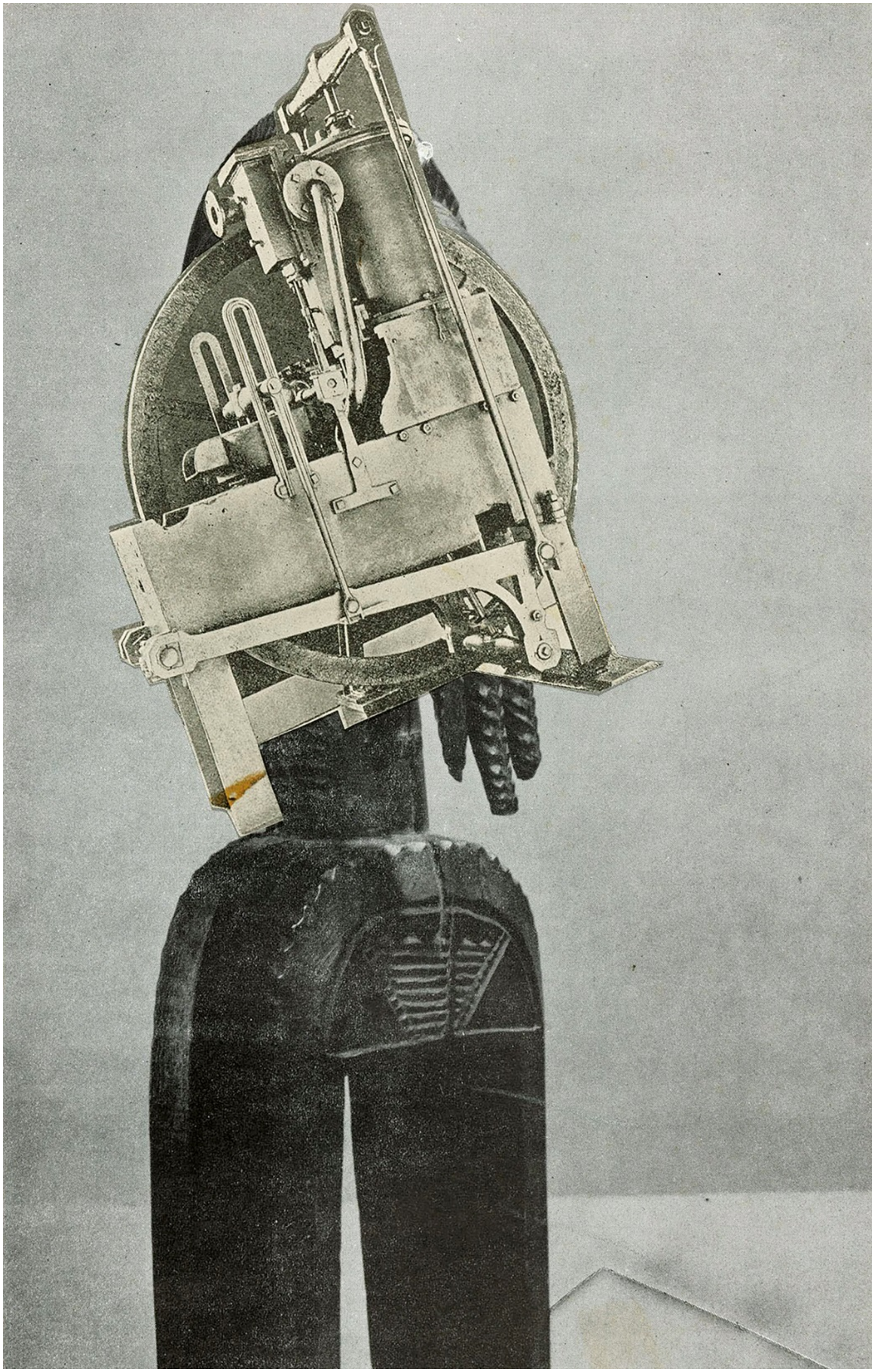


183 Kathy Bruce, *Menina II*, 2012

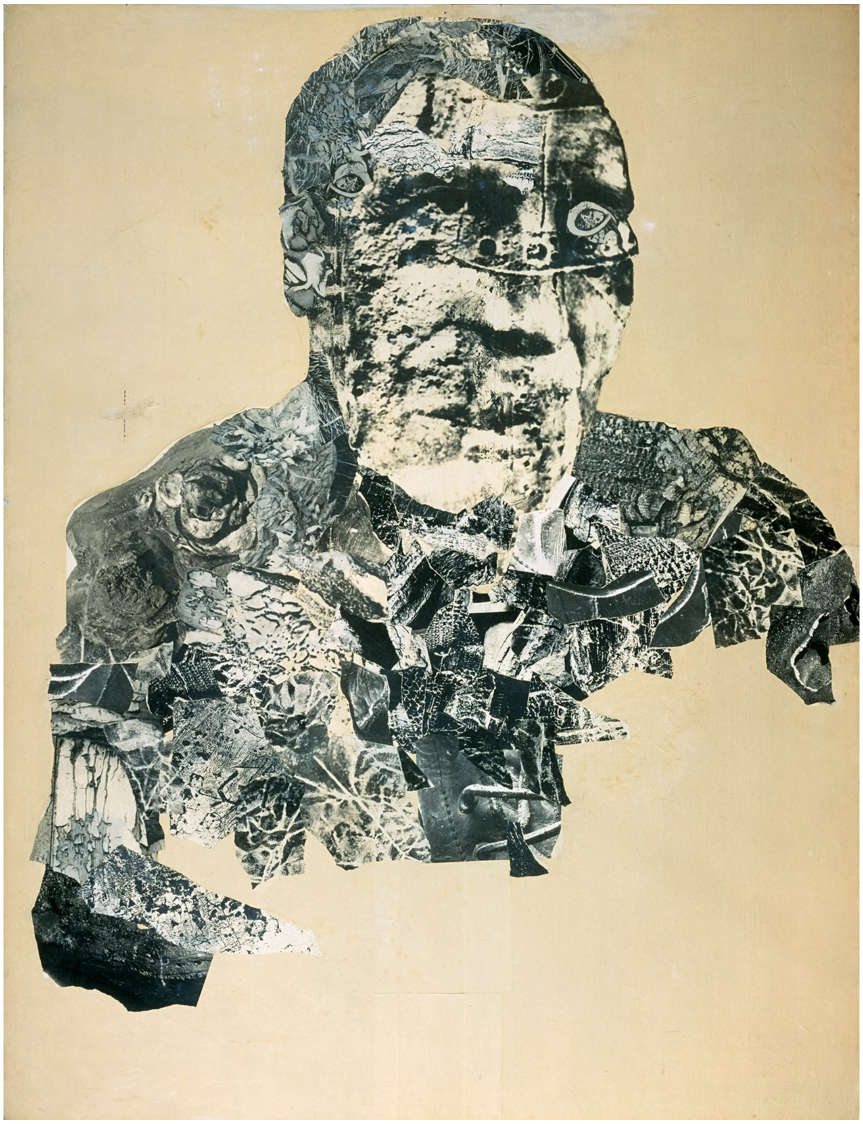


184 Jan Švankmajer, still from *Surviving Life*, 2010

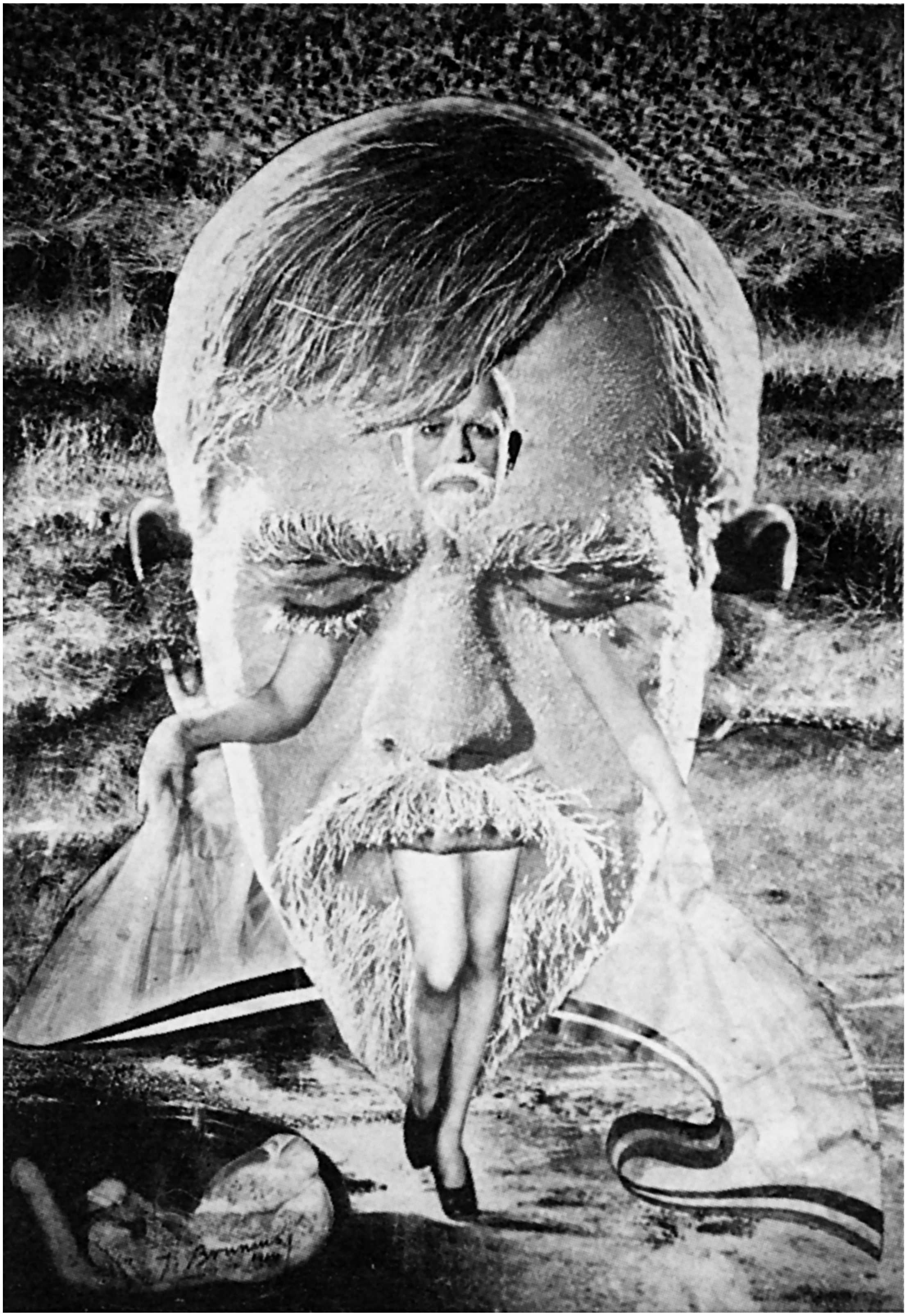
Collages and montages of photographs (not on the whole produced in the darkroom) are among the staples of post-war Pop artists like Paolozzi, Peter Blake and Richard Hamilton. Paolozzi's works frequently comment on the proliferation of visual material available to the artist – scientific, technological, art-historical, ethnographic – to suggest that our culture itself is a kind of ethnographic collage (*Collage over African Sculpture*, 1960). [**185**] Richard Hamilton goes to great lengths to ensure realistic space in his inventory of indispensable objects for the modern home, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?* (1956), a montage of cuttings from magazines that was made for the poster and catalogue of the exhibition 'This Is Tomorrow'.[**195**] Some of the photographic fragments are transformed, but in a deadpan way, so that the patterned carpet is a crowded beach scene and the ceiling an early satellite view of earth. The indispensable categories for tomorrow's world were, for Hamilton: 'Woman Food History Newspapers Cinema Domestic Appliances Cars Space Comics TV Telephone Information'. These are strung together without irony, like the apparently straightforward assemblage of photographic images.



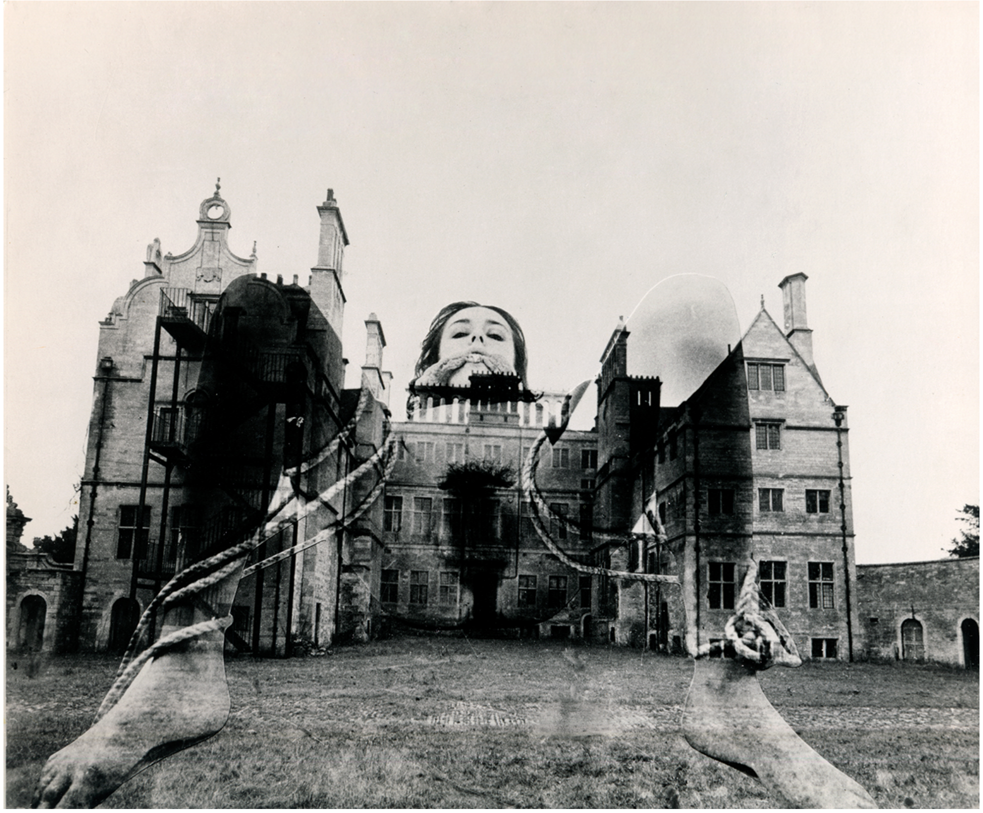
185 Eduardo Paolozzi, *Collage over African Sculpture*, or *Hamburg Figure*, 1960



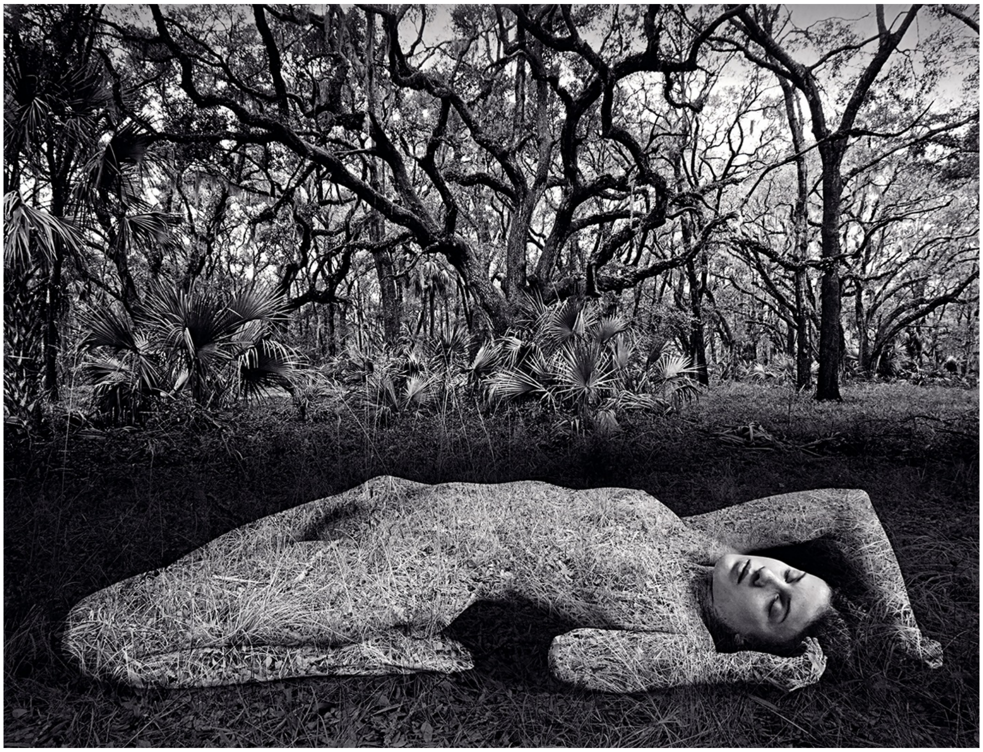
186 Nigel Henderson, *Head of a Man*, 1956


J. Brunius 1944

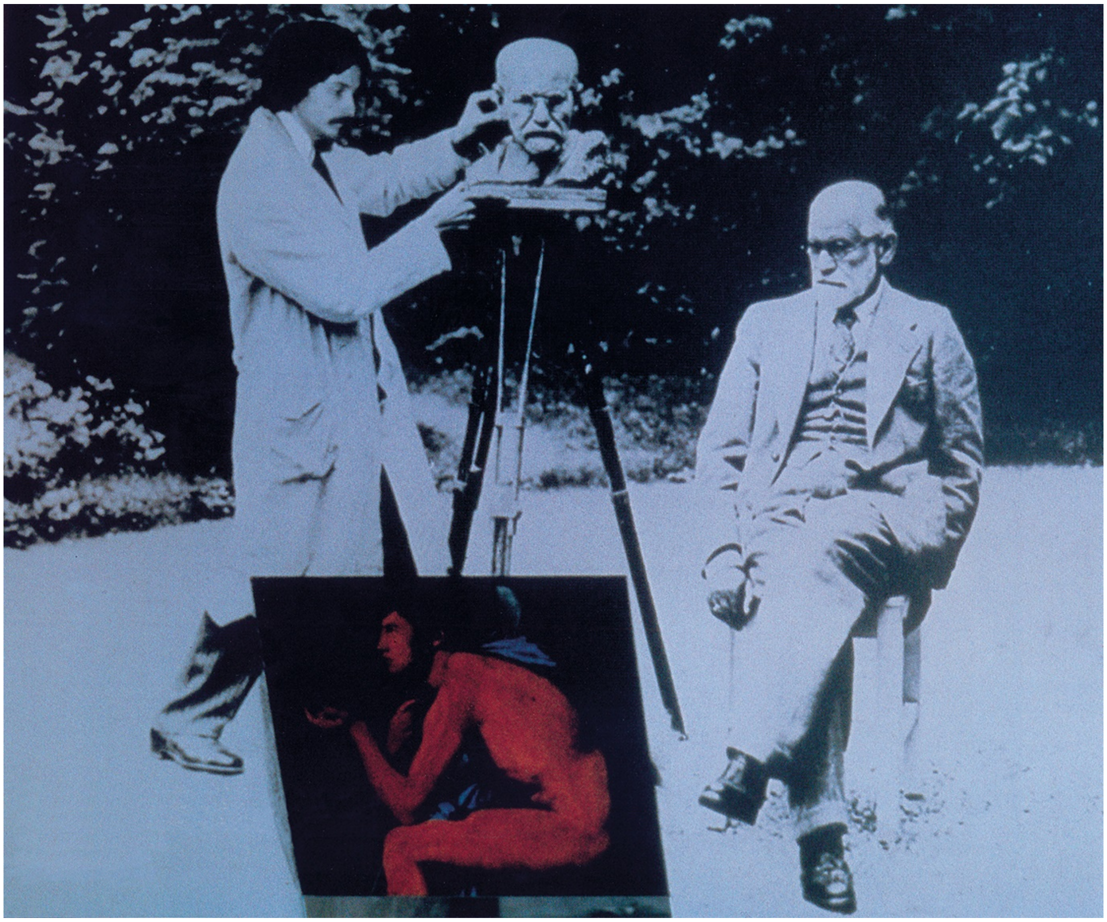
187 Jacques Brunius, *Ad nauseam*, 1944



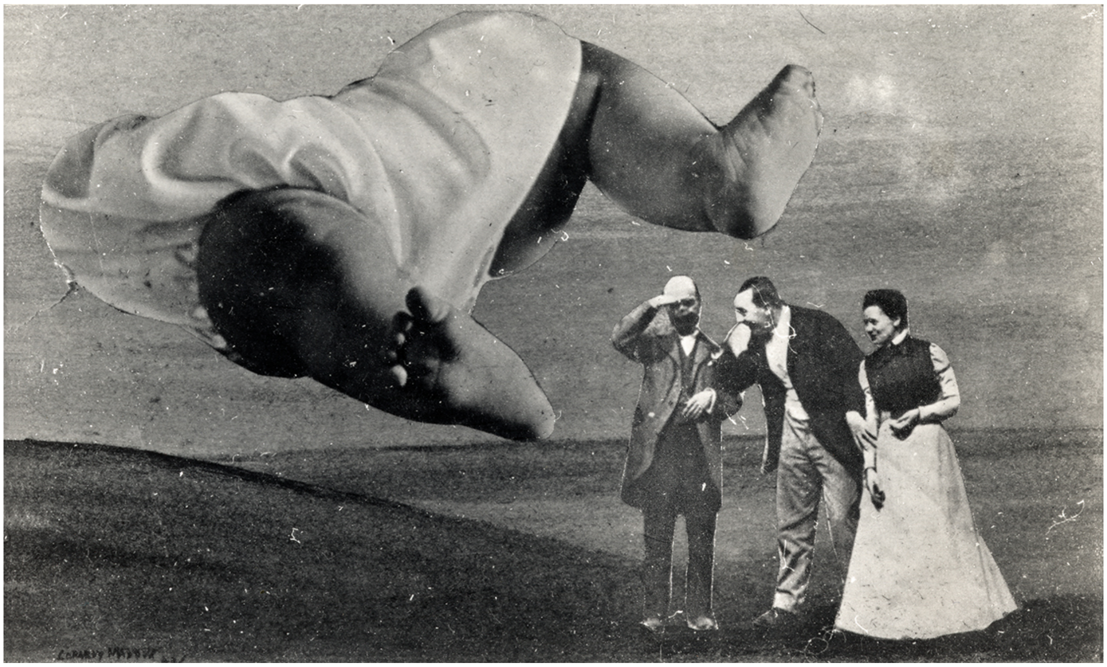
188 Penny Slinger, *The Abysmal*, 1975



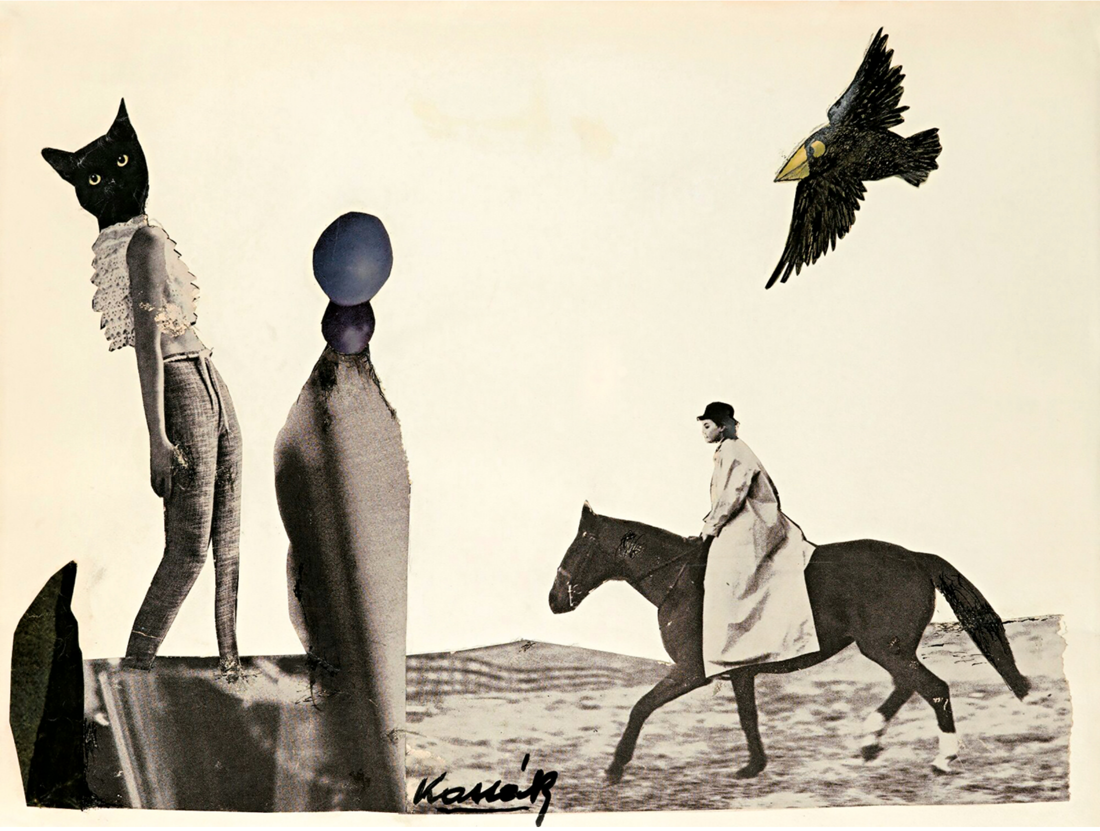
189 Jerry Uelsmann, *Untitled*, 1983



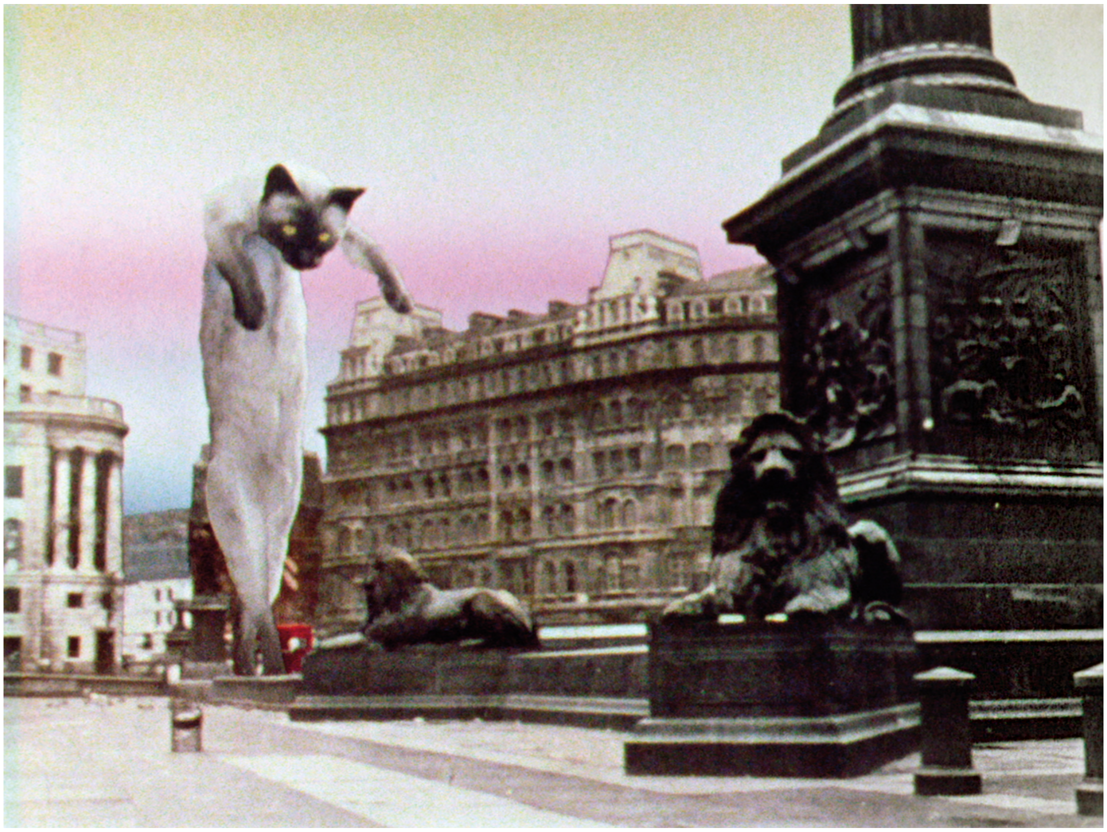
190 Jordi Cerdà, *De la Suite Freud-Lacan 3*, 1985



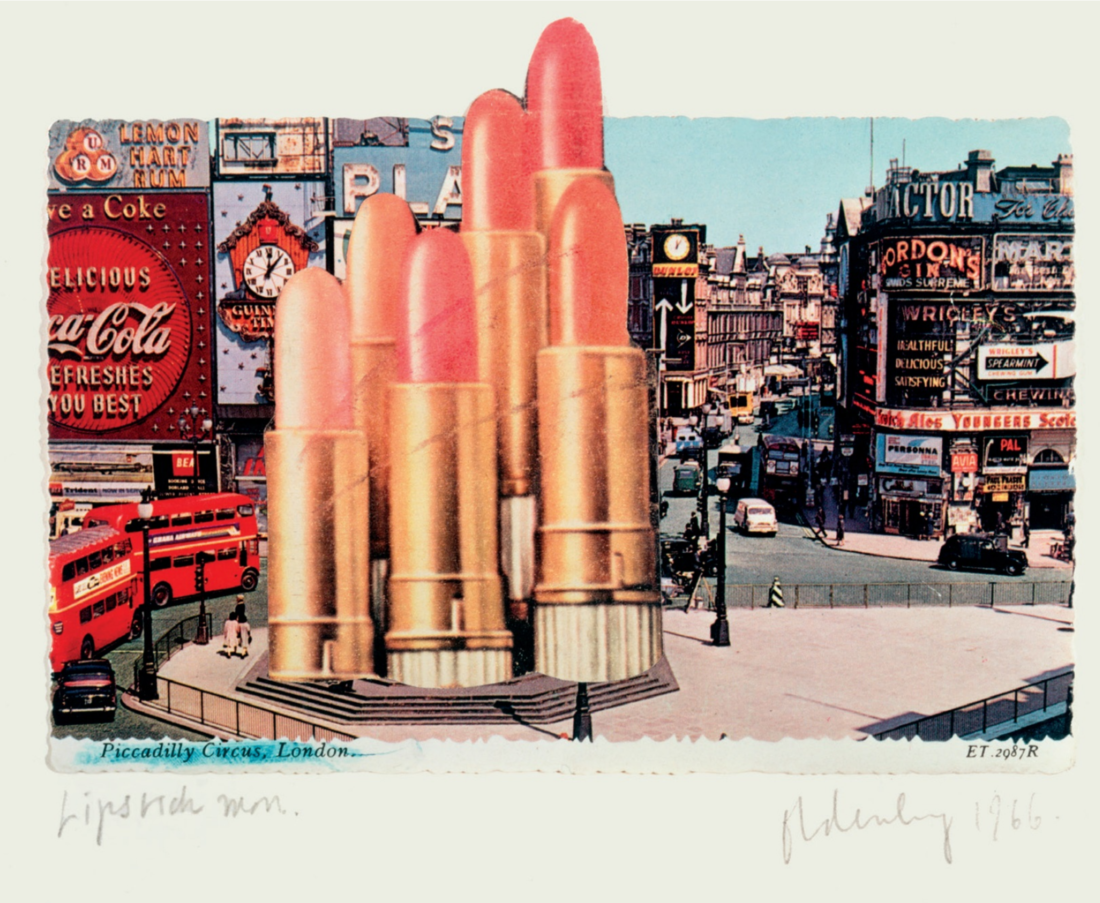
191 Conroy Maddox, *Uncertainty of the Day*, 1942



192 Lajos Kassak, *The Raven*, *c*. 1963–67



193 Terry Gilliam, montage for the BBC television series *Monty Python’s Flying Circus*, 1971


LEMON HART RUM
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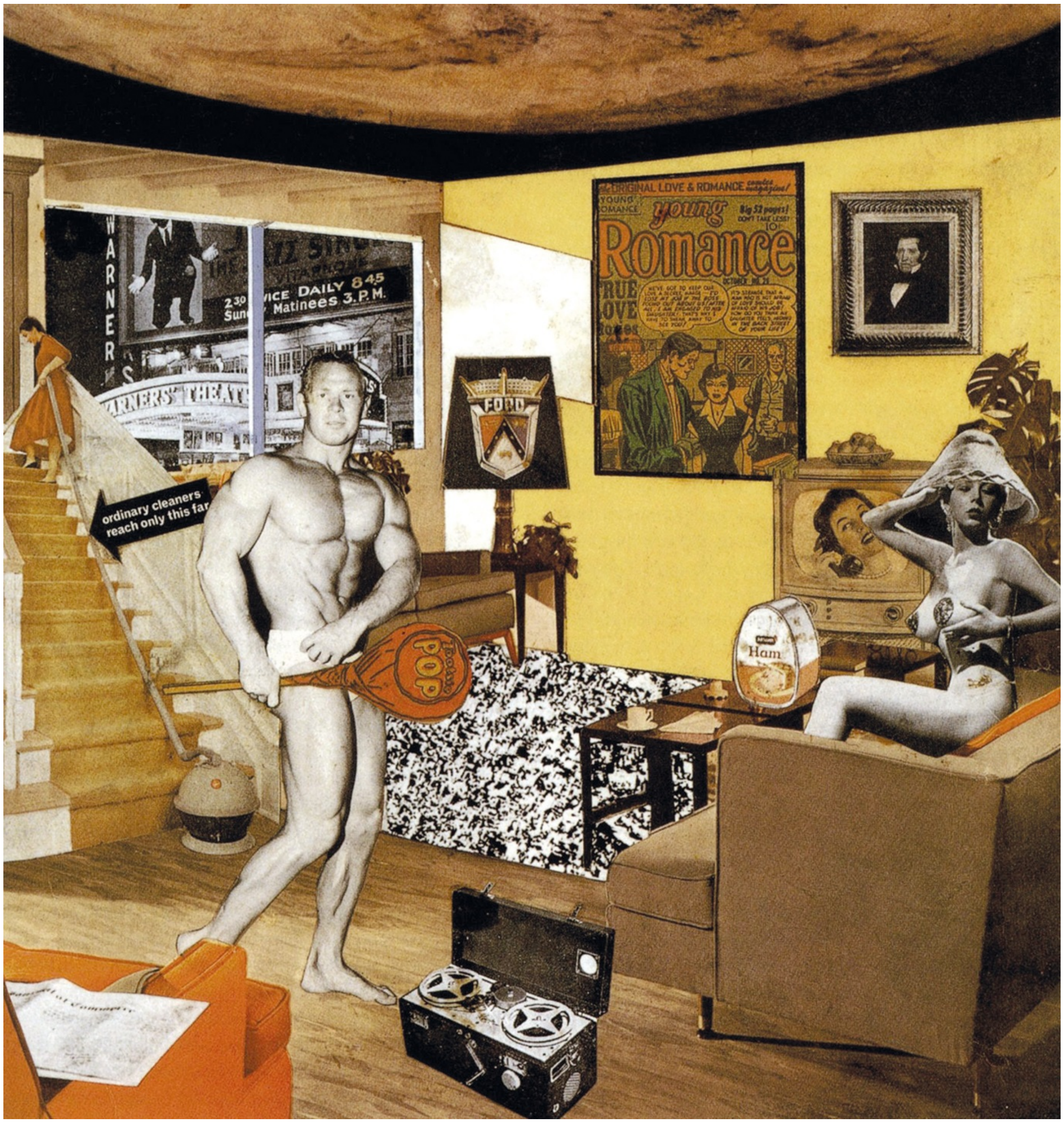
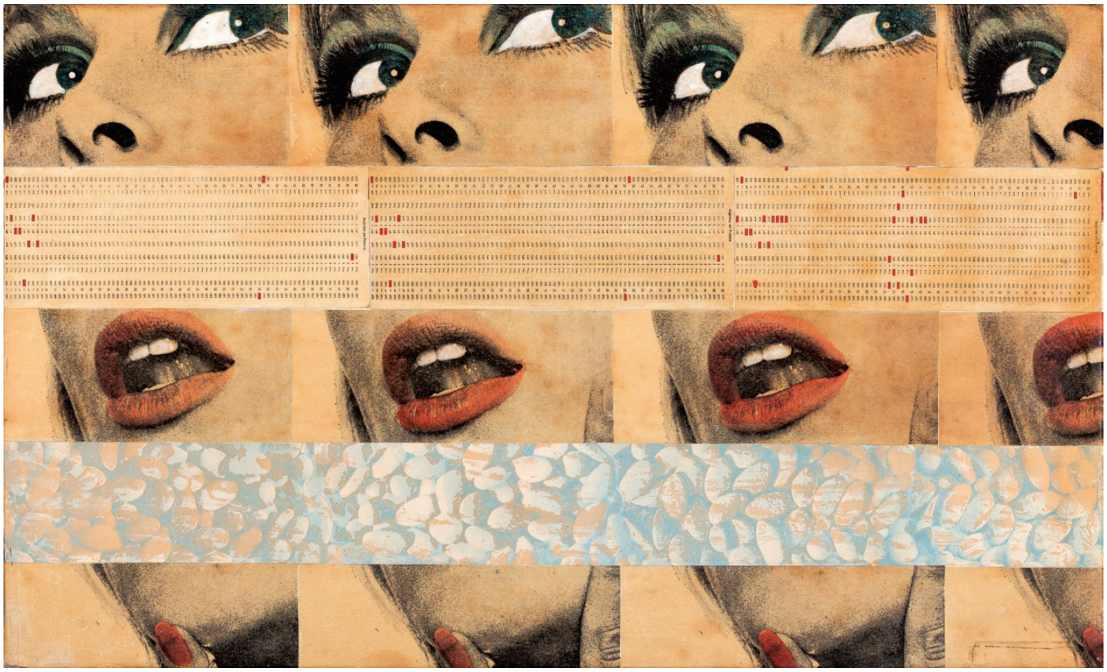
HEALTHFUL DELICIOUS SATISFYING
SPEARMINT
CHEWING
PERSONNA
PAL
AVIA
Piccadilly Circus, London.
ET.2987R
Lipstick mon.
Oldenburg 1966.

194 Claes Oldenburg, *Lipsticks in Piccadilly Circus*, 1966

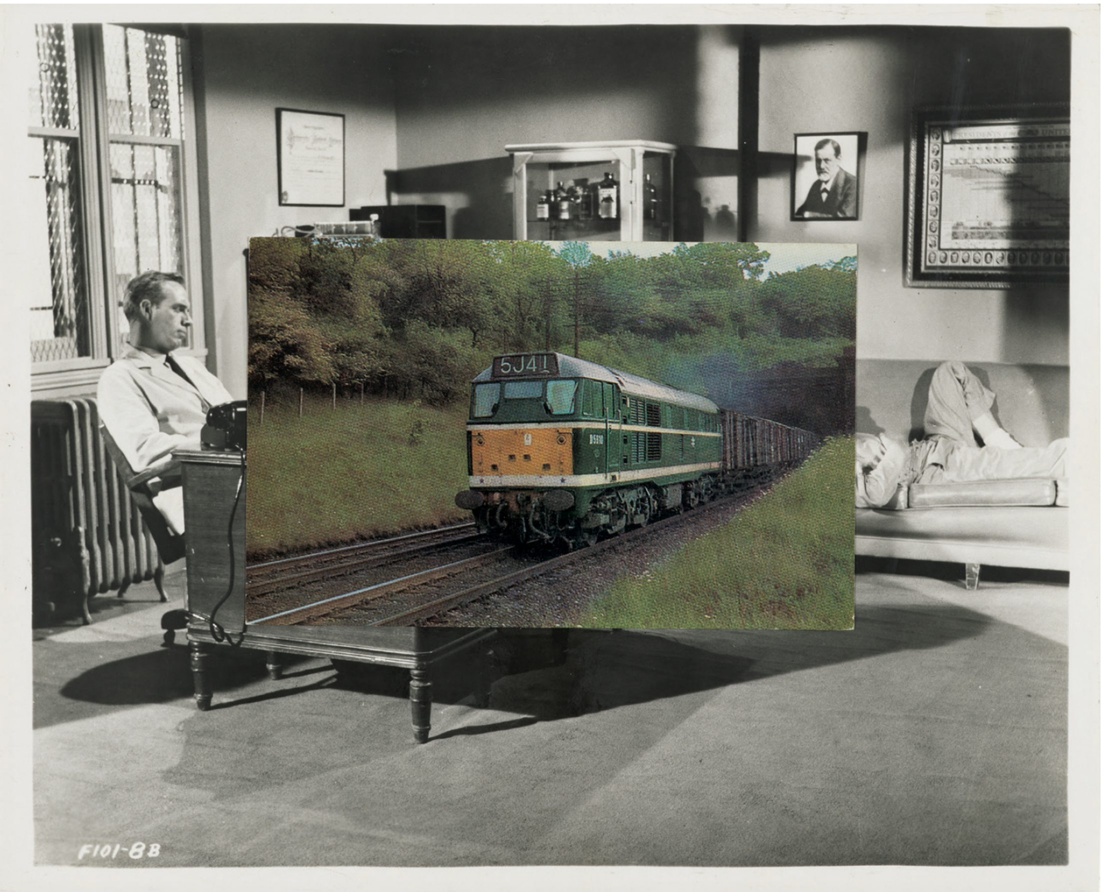

WARNERS
DAILY 845
Matinees 3.P.M.
WARNERS' THEATRE
ordinary cleaners reach only this far
FORD
Young Romance
Romance
POP
Ham

195 Richard Hamilton, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?*, 1956



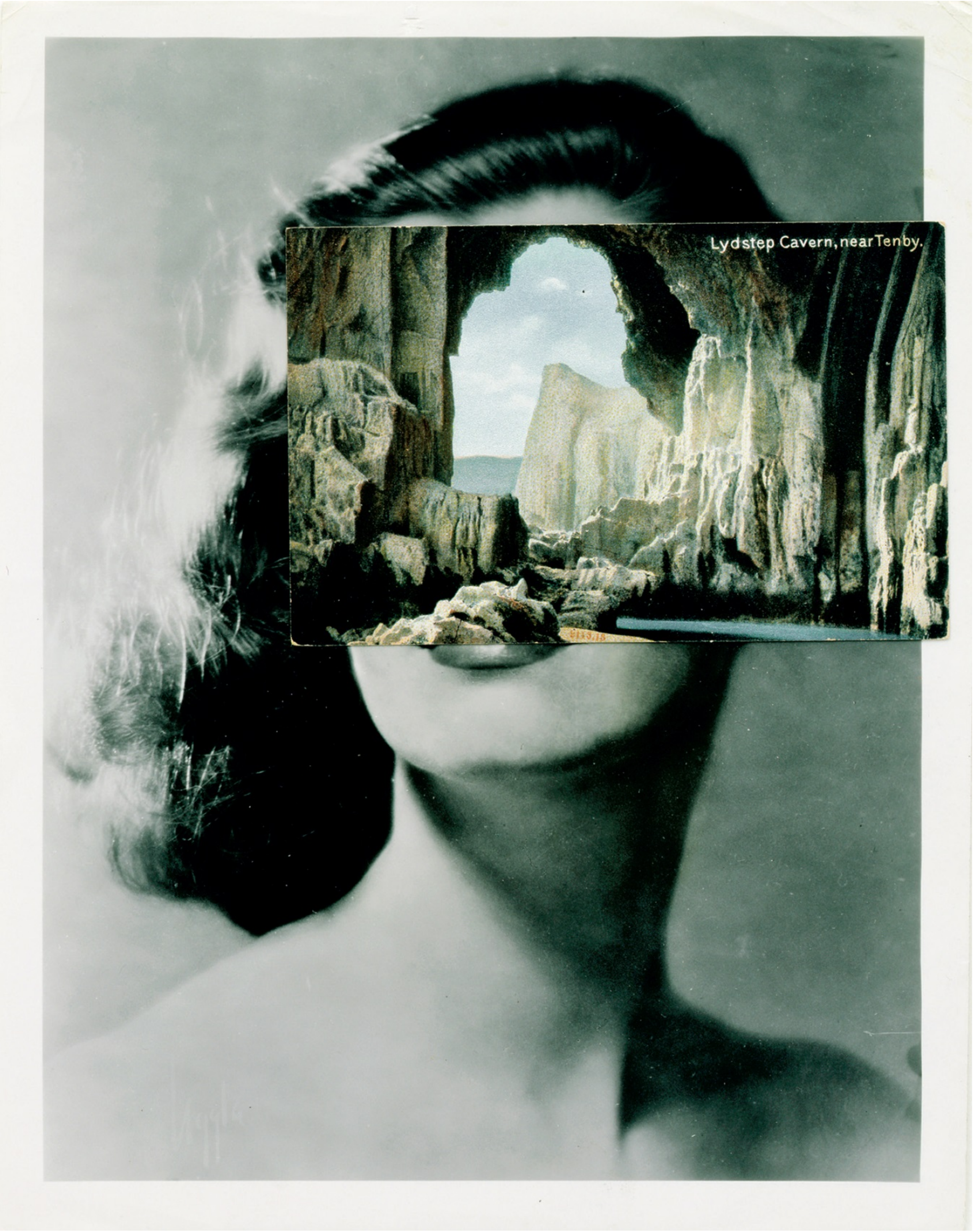
196 Joan Rabascall, *IBM 360-2*, 1965

Pop art almost always appropriated and celebrated current popular imagery. John Stezaker, by contrast, works with found photographic images, film stills, studio portraits and postcards from the past: ‘images that were already in this world were so much more fascinating than anything I could create’.[15] His favourite film stills are from the 1930s and 1940s, the time of Surrealism. In *Negotiable Space 1* (1978) Stezaker has pasted a colour postcard of a diesel train in the dead centre of a black-and-white film still, showing a scene in what appears to be a psychoanalyst’s consulting room.[**197**] Perhaps it was this context, and the portrait of the father of psychoanalysis and hero to the Surrealists, Sigmund Freud, on the wall, that triggered Stezaker’s ambiguous references to Surrealism – most directly to Magritte’s painting *Time Transfixed* (1938), in which a train zooms out of a fireplace into the living room. Stezaker’s real interest was in the more formal aspects of the unlikely conjunction – the geometric precision with which the train tracks and the legs of the doctor’s desk are aligned, and the fact that the vanishing point of the desk edge and the tracks is identical.



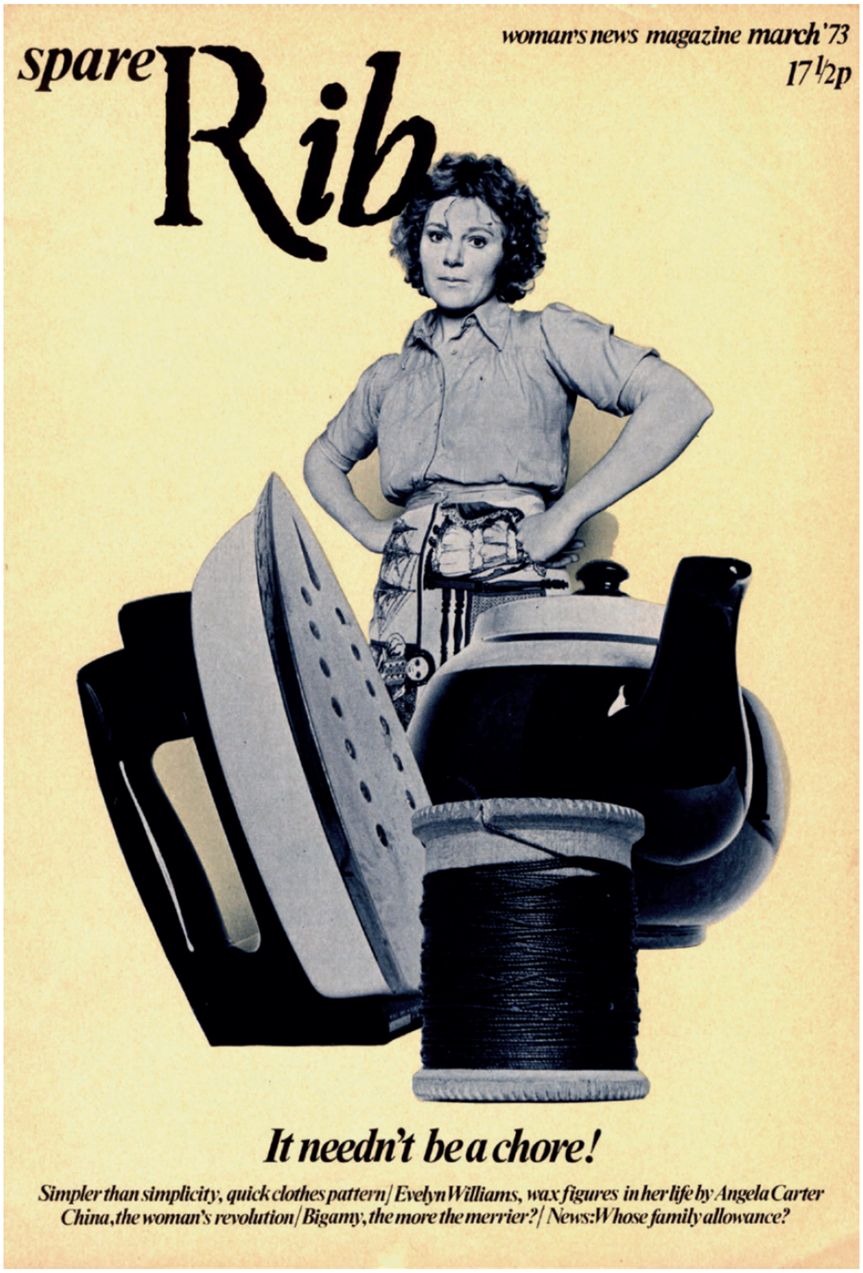
197 John Stezaker, *Negotiable Space 1*, 1978

An exhibition of Joseph Cornell at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1981 reconciled Stezaker with Surrealism. He recognized in Cornell a combination of appropriation and ‘an attachment to the romantic idea of the evanescent fragment’, to the obsolescence of images, ‘the point at which they become illegible, mysterious, at which they touch on another world’ – qualities valued by the Surrealists. He prefers the term collage to ‘photomontage’, which he dislikes, perhaps because of its historically predominantly political associations, though he admits he is a ‘monteur’. In this he is not unlike Cornell: the image has to be allowed to exist in its own right, not to become attached to a cause or operate as an index to culture. In his ‘Masks and Marriage’ series, the relationship with Surrealism is clearer and highly original, with provocative and uncanny juxtapositions either of a face and a landscape or two different faces. As in *Mask XXXV* (2007), there is often a strange visual analogy between the utterly different images, which can never quite be resolved into a simple metaphor.[198]


Lydstep Cavern, near Tenby.

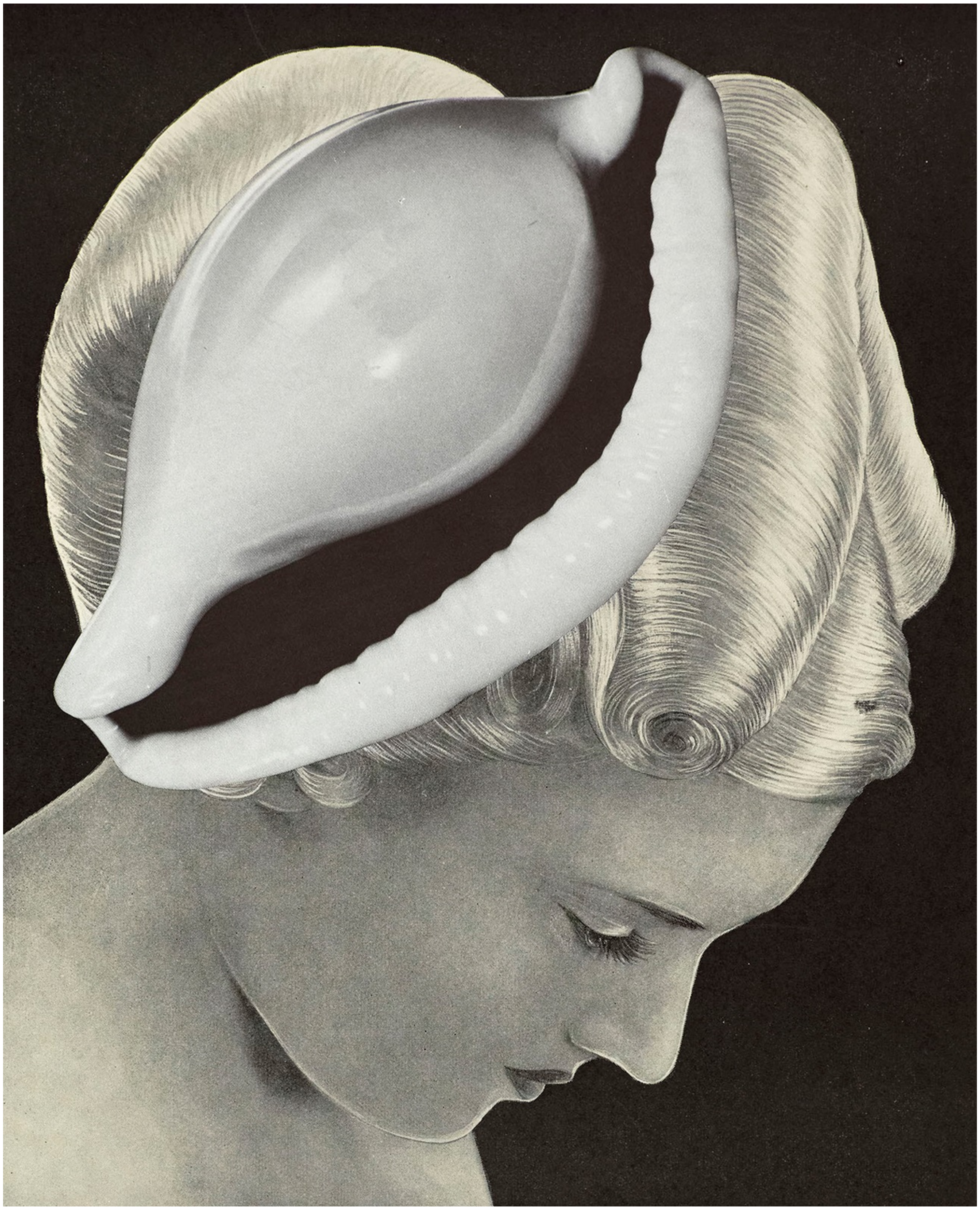
198 John Stezaker, *Mask XXXV*, 2007

Linder, on the other hand, embraced photomontage as both a technique and an attitude, and is willing to identify with and continue its radical history. The photomontages she made in 1976 and 1977 are in the spirit of the feminist magazine *Spare Rib* and of the Dada photomontages of Hannah Höch or John Heartfield, although in no sense derivative of them.[199] It is particularly interesting to compare hers with those of Höch, as both take a strong stance against contemporary attitudes to women. In her magisterial *Da-Dandy* (1919), Höch combines photographic fragments from the world of fashion and glamour, perhaps themselves snipped from advertisements: pearl necklaces, bangles, high heels, an elegant toque and women's eyes and smiles, and assembled them in the shape of a man's head, his profile lightly outlined in scarlet.[1] However one reads Höch's image, it carries a critique of contemporary attitudes to gender stereotyping and social conventions. 'Woman' is shaped by fashion according to male demands, is one way of looking at it; or perhaps the man's head stands for society and its conventions of female beauty. The cut-up female features, grotesquely out of scale with one another, also make a mockery of the ideal of beauty peddled by the advertisements from which they have been taken.

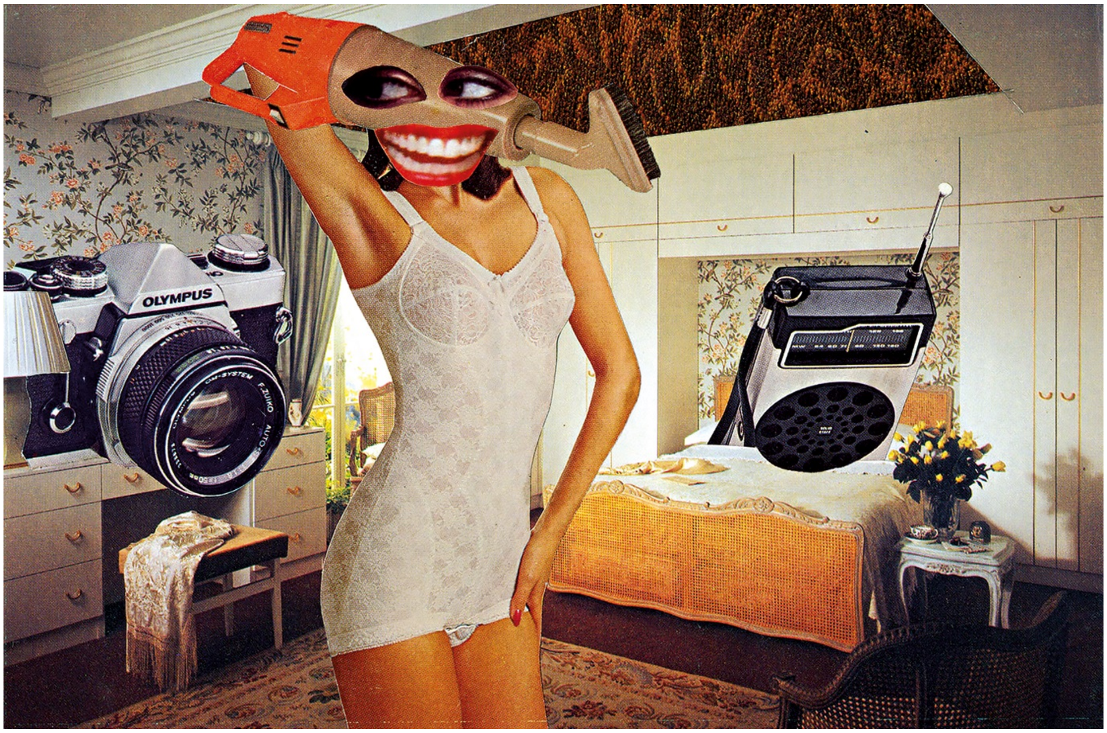

woman's news magazine march '73
17½p
spare Rib
It needn't be a chore!
Simpler than simplicity, quick clothes pattern/ Evelyn Williams, wax figures in her life by Angela Carter
China, the woman's revolution/ Bigamy, the more the merrier?/ News: Whose family allowance?

199 *Spare Rib* cover, March 1973

Höch mixed images from print sources including newspapers and fashion journals with photographs of friends and celebrities, often combining them in intricate visual narratives to expose the truth of power relations. Linder worked primarily with the magazines of the time, focusing on the contrast between male and female 'interests' (home, fashion, cooking and child-rearing versus cars, gadgets, gardening and pornography) and between the different ways women were represented (no nudes in the women's magazines) in order to highlight the gender gap, the male control of the sexual field, the objectification of the female body and the absence of a female voice. But there is nothing programmatic or predictable about her work: each photomontage is a distinctive and original take on attitudes to women and the ways they are represented, which impact on every aspect of life, domestic and professional, in line with the slogan popular at the time, ‘the personal is political’. Her photomontages are fiercely critical of remaining double standards, despite the gains made by the women’s movement. For example, in an untitled photomontage of 1977, the corseted female body, presumably from a woman’s magazine but with some ambiguity about the intended spectator, is trapped in a bedroom between a camera, its lens focused on her bottom, and a walkie talkie in the bed.[**201**] These mechanical means of communication appear on a huge scale, perhaps not only surveilling her but rivalling her in their sexy gadgetry. Linder parades these various ‘objects of desire’ before the spectator so that they all inhabit the foreground and jostle for attention. The woman’s face is reduced to eyes and smile, her head replaced with a vacuum cleaner. A persistent feature in magazines at the time was the wide smile with red lips and white teeth, which the artist makes gleeful use of in numerous ways; on one occasion she minimally altered a well-oiled female nude, replacing nipples with two perfect smiles. In another work she adds the smile, vagina-dentata-like, to a man’s crotch. Sometimes the humour comes from the ways Linder shares her sources’ insistent, high octane sexual charge while simultaneously critiquing it, bringing seduction and repulsion together. Sometimes she keeps the elements of the composition in scale with each other, sometimes they differ dramatically, but the cutting and gluing is always invisible, her process meticulous. She uses ‘a Swann-Morton scalpel with a number 11 blade’, also used by surgeons to make stab incisions, and she has described her approach as similar to a biopsy, laying bare the culture around her that spawned the tell-tale imagery.



200 Linder, *Fantesse*, 2013



201 Linder, *Untitled*, 1977

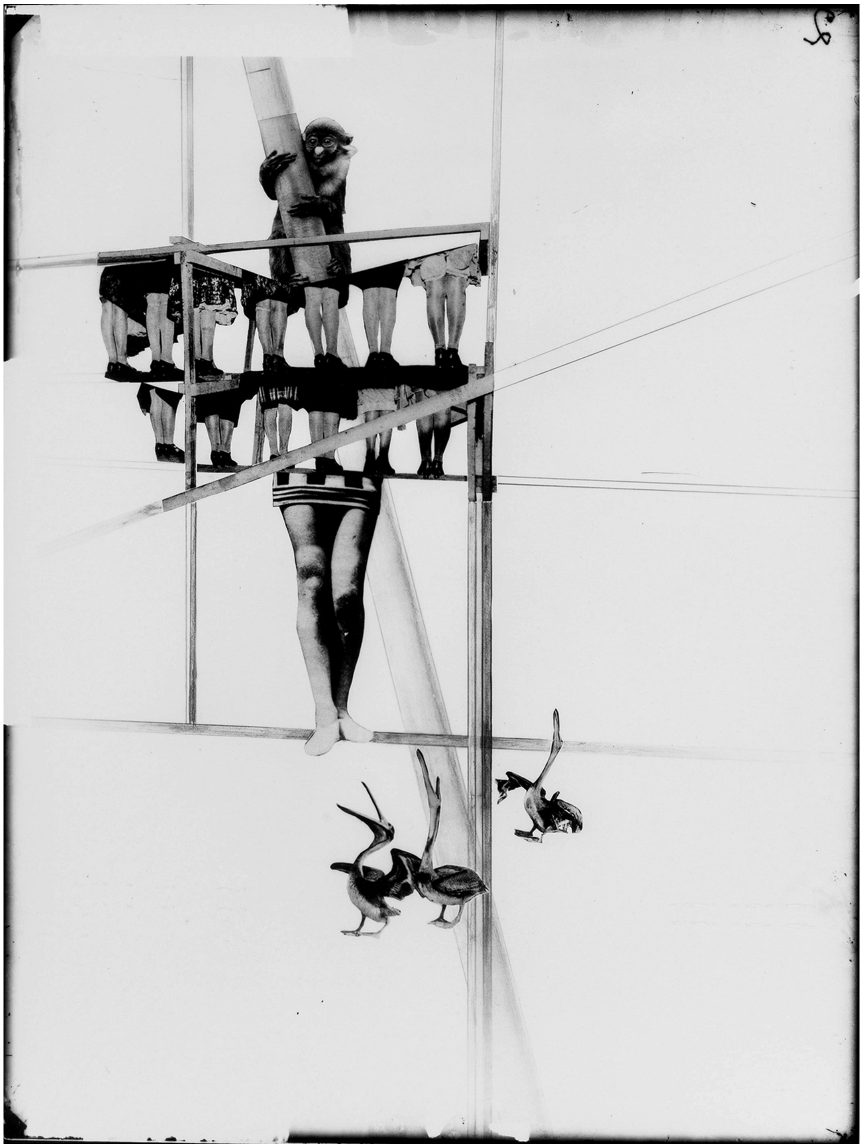
When Linder returned to photomontage in the early 2000s (as well as an artist she has been a punk musician, performer, body-builder, photographer and art historian), she worked with readymade images from even earlier decades, bringing together figures and objects that confuse assumptions about ‘objects of desire’ in apparently simpler juxtapositions. She is fascinated by *The Rose Annual*, the journal of the National Rose Society published from the 1930s to the 1970s, cookery and cake decorating books from the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the annual *Princess Book of Ballet* that she had as a child. Taking pains to make the least elements count as much as possible, when she starts a new series she lays out masses of material to cut, alert to unexpected encounters. They have to be of the same period, and with similar paper, similar half-tone dot screen, similar gloss and inks, so that the clash, the shock and the joke all come from the image – like the huge plate of cookies replacing the head of the ballet dancer in *Cakewalk Balletomane* (2010).[225] There is a disturbing push and pull in Linder’s photomontages, richly varied as they are, between for instance rose (or cake) and ballet dancer or nude model – is the glamorous figure just support for petals and confectionary? One begins to wonder which has priority. The consistency of the images gives rise to a further temptation – to speculate on what might be hidden, as in a Magritte painting.

Chapter 4

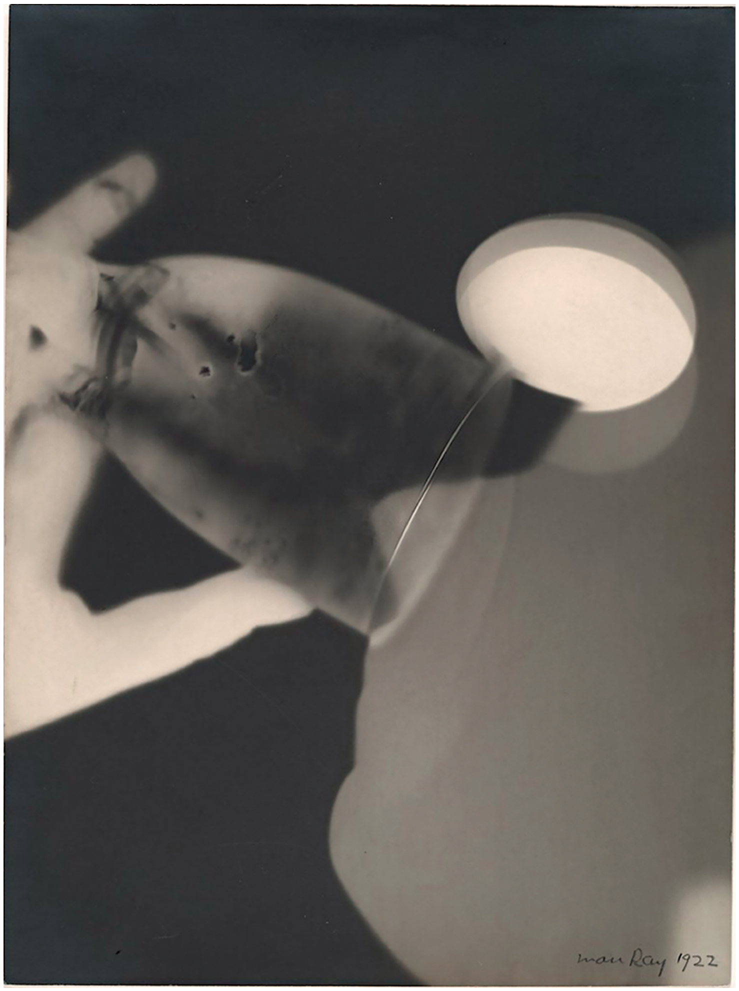
Photomontage and Non-Objective Art

The relationship between photomontage and non-objective art is perhaps not an obvious one, but it is nonetheless reciprocal and full of productive tensions. The structure of certain photomontages, for example those of the Russian and Polish Constructivists, was naturally dependent on the principles of constructive, non-objective design. Conversely, the camera and photographic processes in general were found to be rich in possibility, capable of suggesting forms, patterns and textures independent of the visible world.

Man Ray's 'rayograms' (in which objects are exposed directly onto photo-sensitive paper), in stripping the object of its normal context, often also thereby strip it of its identity, so that new and independent forms are, apparently, created.[**203**] Juxtapositions, changes of scale, lighting and close-up can also be used to emphasize the formal qualities of objects, to make a play of shapes and textures, as in Florence Henri's *Abstract Composition* (1932).[**204**]

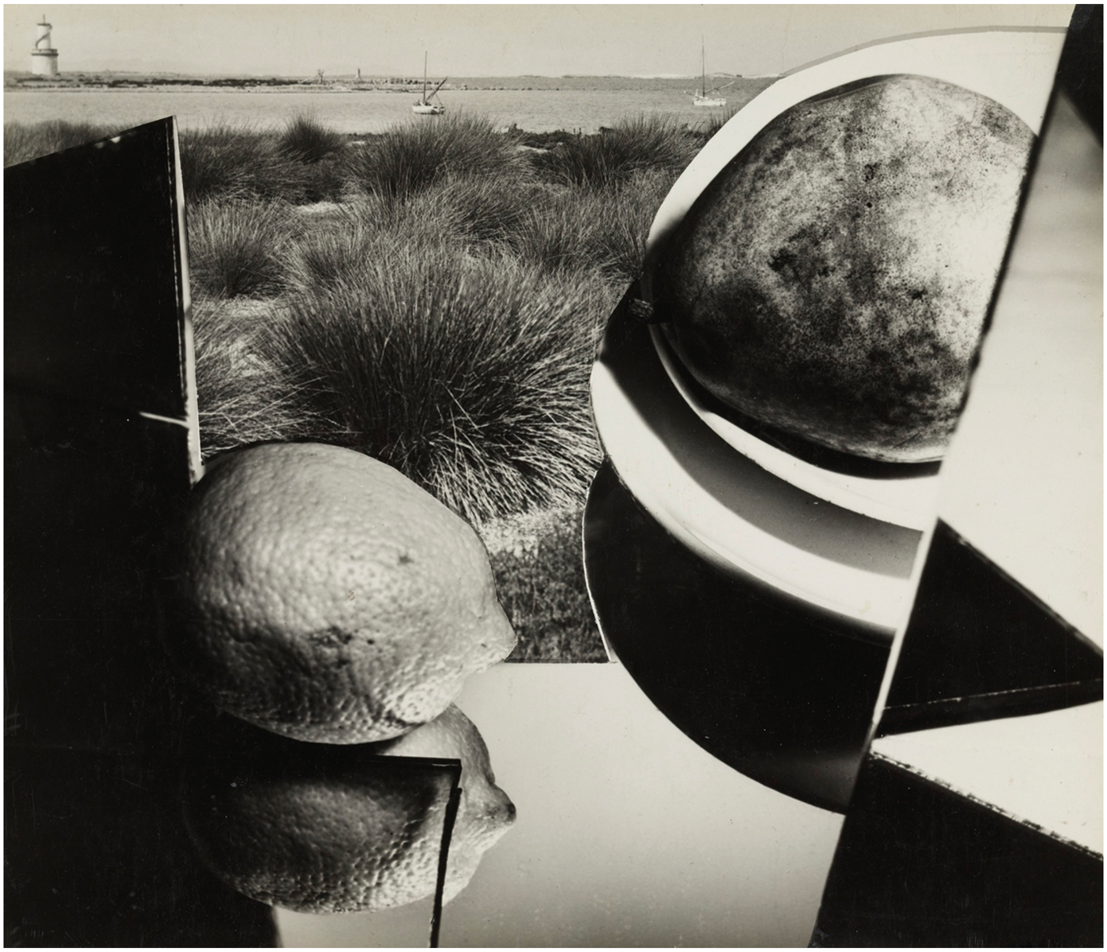


202 László Moholy-Nagy, *Structure of the World (The Edifice of the World)*, 1927

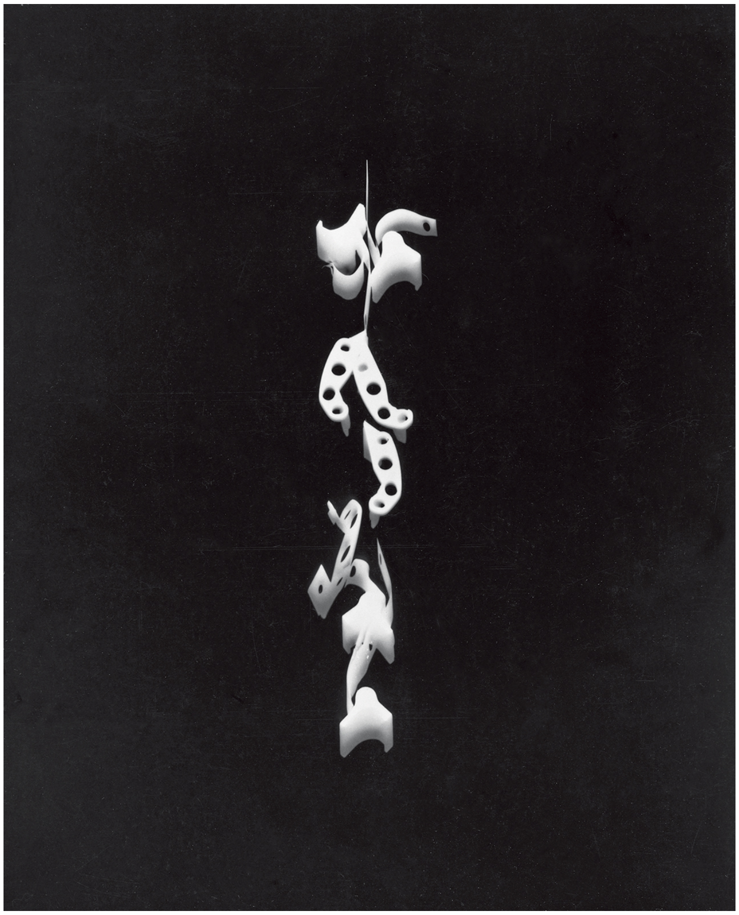


203 Man Ray, *Rayogram: Kiki Drinking*, 1922

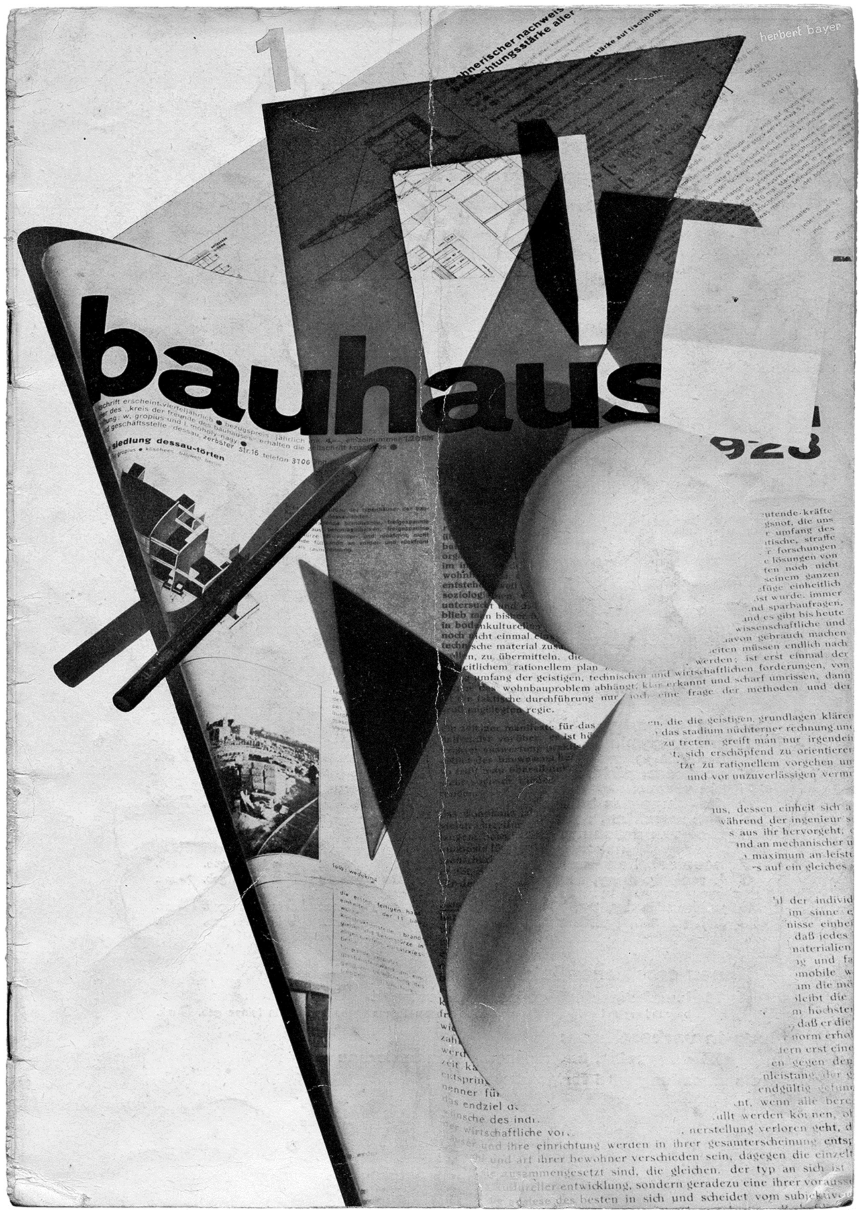
Herbert Bayer's photomontage *Metamorphosis* (1936) wittily suggests a strange relationship between non-objective and representational forms.[207] He has taken the basic geometrical shapes that he used in his design for the cover of the first issue of the *Bauhaus* periodical in 1928 (made while he was building up the graphic design workshop at the Dessau Bauhaus), and shows them tumbling out of a dark cave towards a romantic landscape.[206] Perhaps Bayer is also gently satirizing the Platonic assumptions of non-objective art, with its use of basic 'ideal' forms, by placing them in the mouth of a cave so that they become, as it were, Plato's ideal objects of which we, mankind, living in the dark, facing away from the light, see only the shadows on the wall.



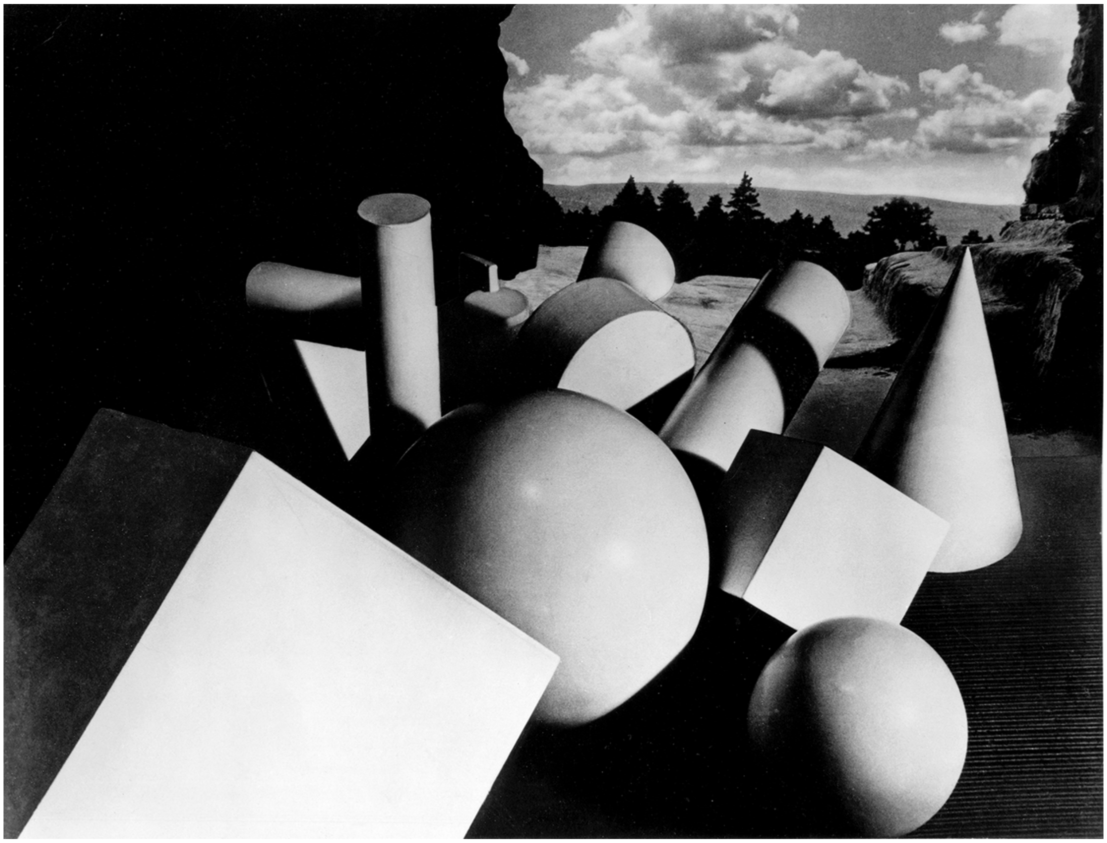
204 Florence Henri, *Abstract Composition*, 1932



205 László Moholy-Nagy, *Photogram: Lightening Rod*, 1941

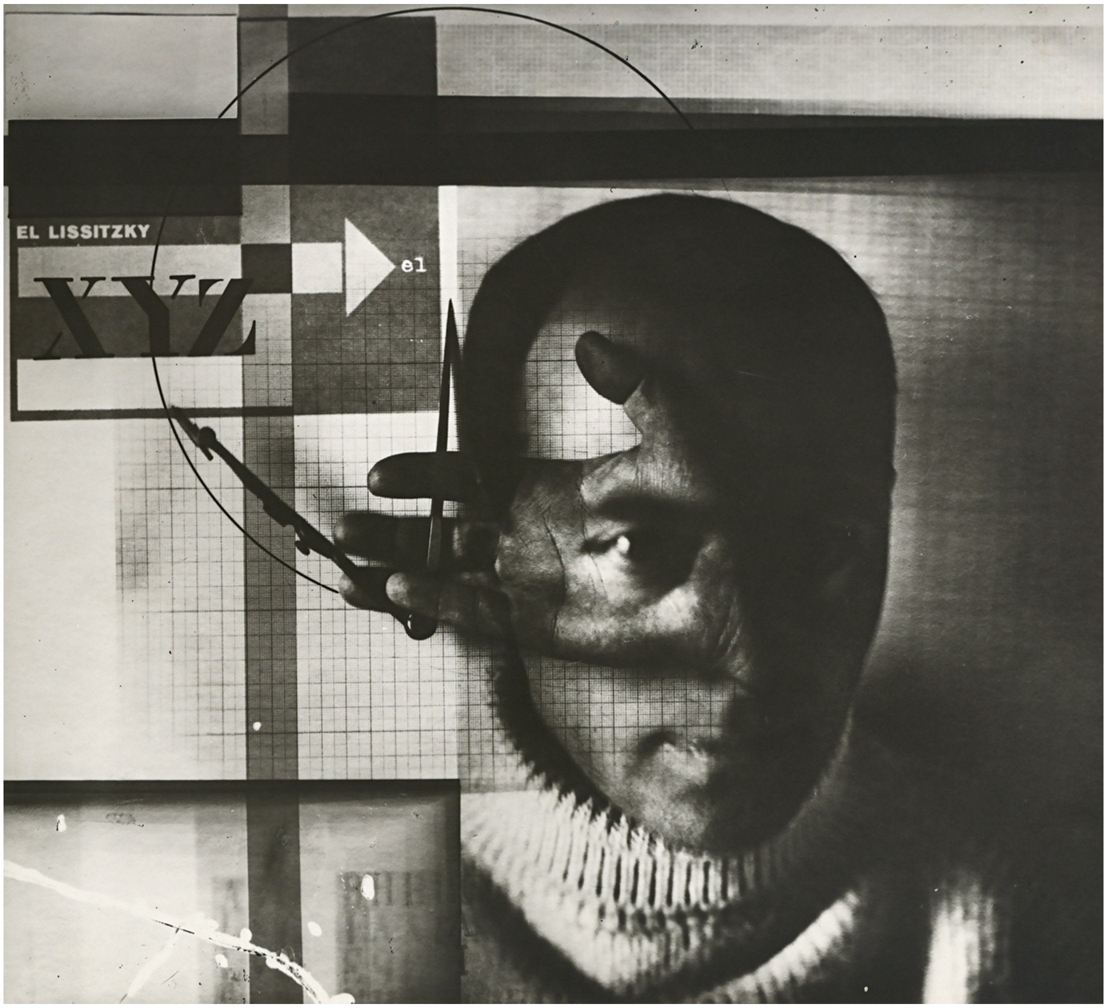

1
herbert bayer
bauhaus
siedlung dessau-törten

206 Herbert Bayer, cover of *Bauhaus 1*, 1928



207 Herbert Bayer, *Metamorphosis*, 1936

El Lissitzky's superb and famous self-portrait, *The Constructor*, was made by a combination of superimposed negatives and direct exposure. [**208**] He has literally integrated the artist's eye and his hand holding a pair of compasses with the circle and rectangles on graph paper showing the alphabet of forms, the abstract basis of Constructivist art.



208 El Lissitzky, *The Constructor*, self-portrait, 1924

Klucis and Kassak, among others, based their photomontages on a dynamic, abstract framework. Klucis's *Sport* is close to his work in other mediums such as painting and drawing, and is based on the composition in *Dynamic City*, which was inspired by Malevich's Suprematism and El Lissitzky's 'prouns'.[78, 82] In his photomontages, figures or buildings are substituted for or added to the planes and volumes of the abstract works. It is interesting that the origins of Suprematism, which expressed the 'new environment of the artist', were demonstrated by Malevich in a montage of bird's-eye views of cities, docks, roads and dams.

For László Moholy-Nagy, photography was of inestimable value in educating the eye to what he called the 'new vision'. He believed that in our efforts to come to terms with the age of technology, to become part of it and not to sink back into a retrogressive symbolism or expressionism, the camera with its capacity ‘to complete or supplement our optical instrument, the eye’ would help us to disengage ourselves from traditional perceptual habits. Moholy-Nagy’s ideas have perhaps been more influential than his works in any of the mediums in which he experimented; but probably his most original and exciting compositions are those using photographs or photographic processes. His ‘photograms’, as he called them, are more distanced from the world of objects than Man Ray’s, closer perhaps to those of Christian Schad.[**202**] The direct records of forms on light-sensitive paper were particularly fascinating for him, being almost pure experiments in light and shadow, produced with the minimum of handling, and with the bonus of surprise in the result. In a letter to Beaumont Newhall in 1937 he wrote:

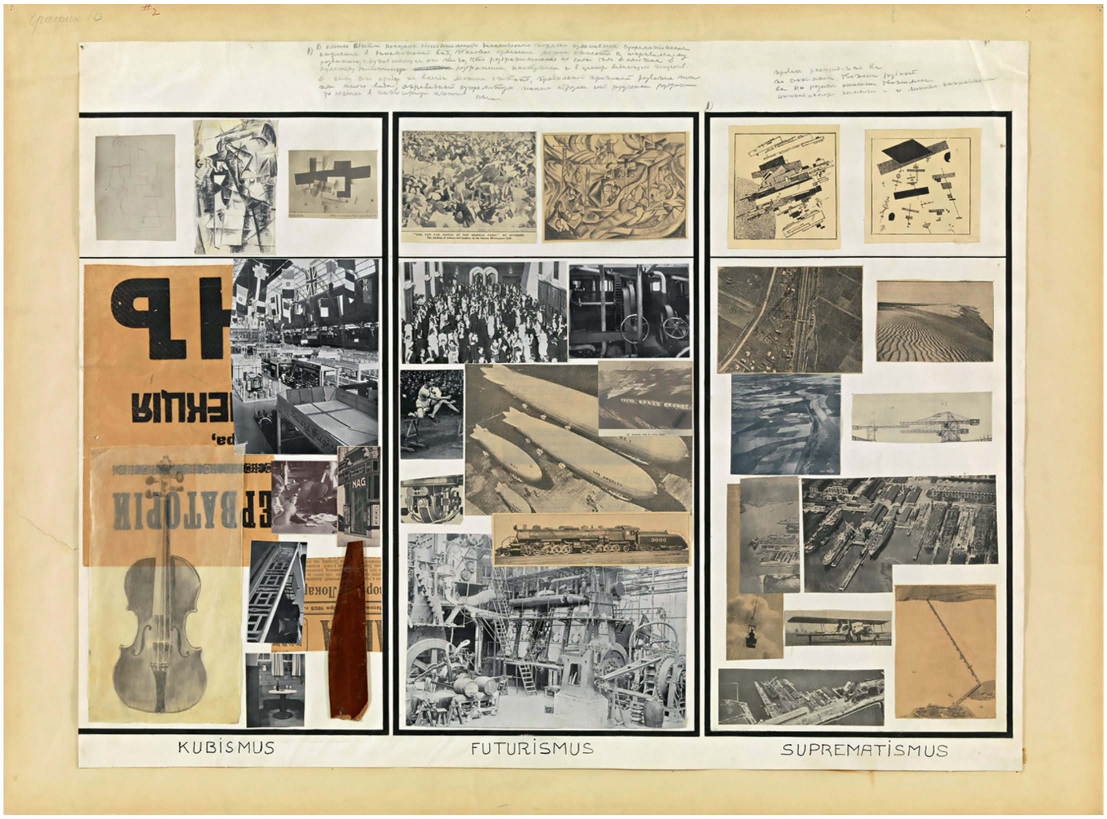
> *I would think that photogram is a better name than ‘shadowgraph’ because – at least in my experiments – I used or tried to use not alone shadows of solid transparent and translucent objects but really light effects themselves e.g. lenses, liquids, crystals and so on.*[1]

Moholy’s photomontages, or ‘photoplastics’, as he sometimes preferred to call them when photographs were combined with drawing, are very varied: he was fully aware of the vast range of possibilities in the field. This is how he described his photomontages in *Painting Photography Film*:

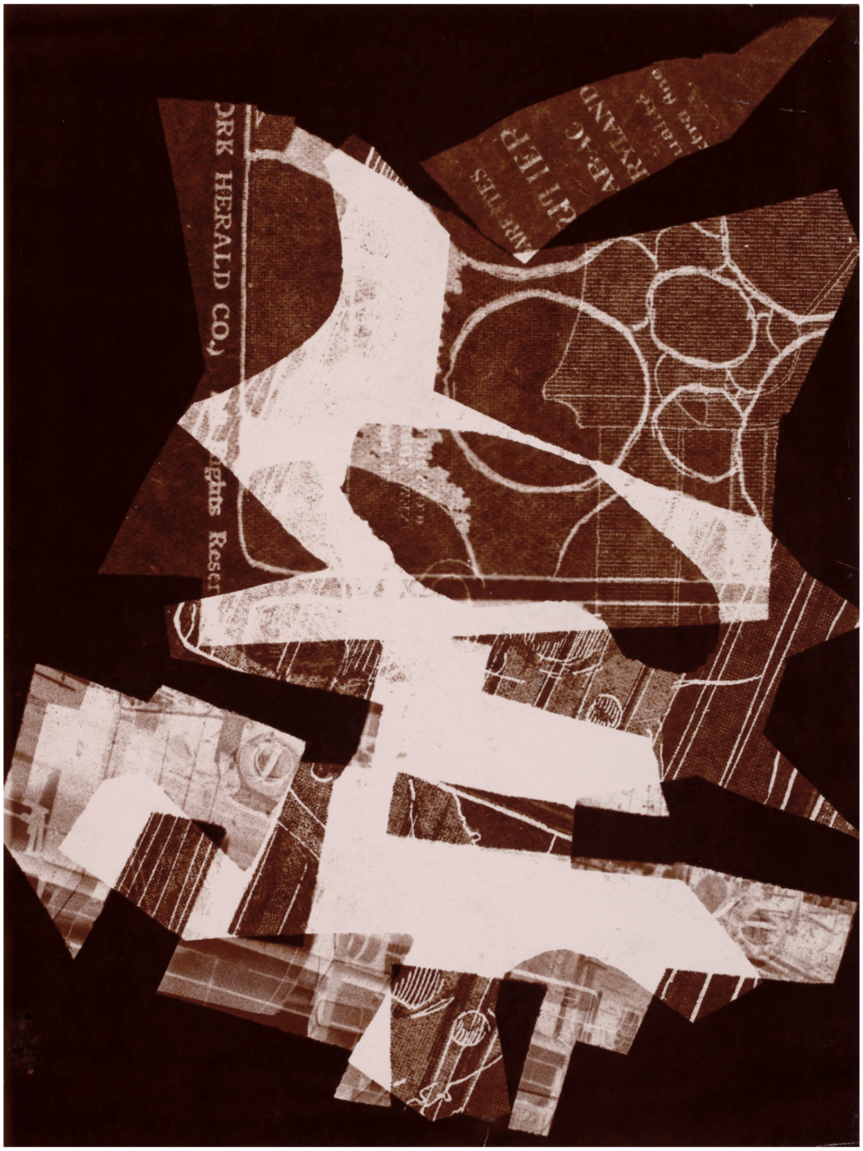
> *They are pieced together from various photographs and are an experimental method of simultaneous representation; compressed interpenetration of visual and verbal wit; weird combinations of the most realistic, imitative means which pass into imaginary spheres. They can, however, also be forthright, tell a story; more veristic ‘than life itself’.*[2]

He added: ‘It will soon be possible to do this work, at present still in its infancy and done by hand, mechanically, with the aid of projections and new printing processes.’ But it is not surprising, given his whole-hearted, optimistic, though not dogmatic, commitment to non-objective art, that he should reveal new relationships between photomontage and non-objective construction. In his marvellously clear *Leda and the Swan* (1925), while there is an interest in the subject matter (‘the myth inverted’), the main interest is in the spatial possibilities of the medium.[**211**] As he wrote in ‘Space, Time and the Photographer’:

> *Linear elements, structural pattern, close-up, and isolated figures are here the elements for a space articulation. Pasted on a white surface these elements seem to be embedded in infinite space, with clear articulation of nearness and distance. The best description of their effect would be to say that each element is pasted on vertical glass planes, which are set up in an endless series each behind the other.*[3]



209 Kazimir Malevich, *Analytical Chart*, *c*. 1925


ORK HERALD CO.,
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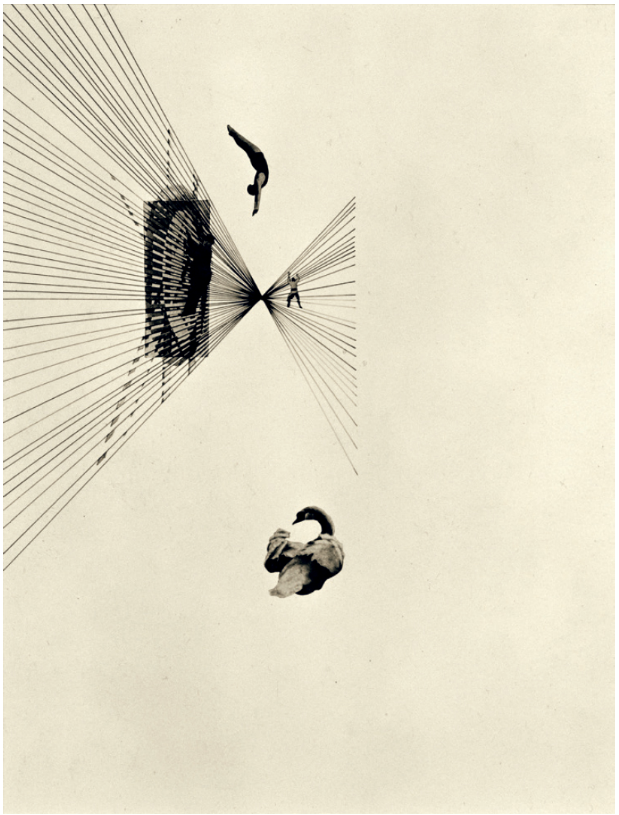
210 Christian Schad, *Schadograph*, 1918

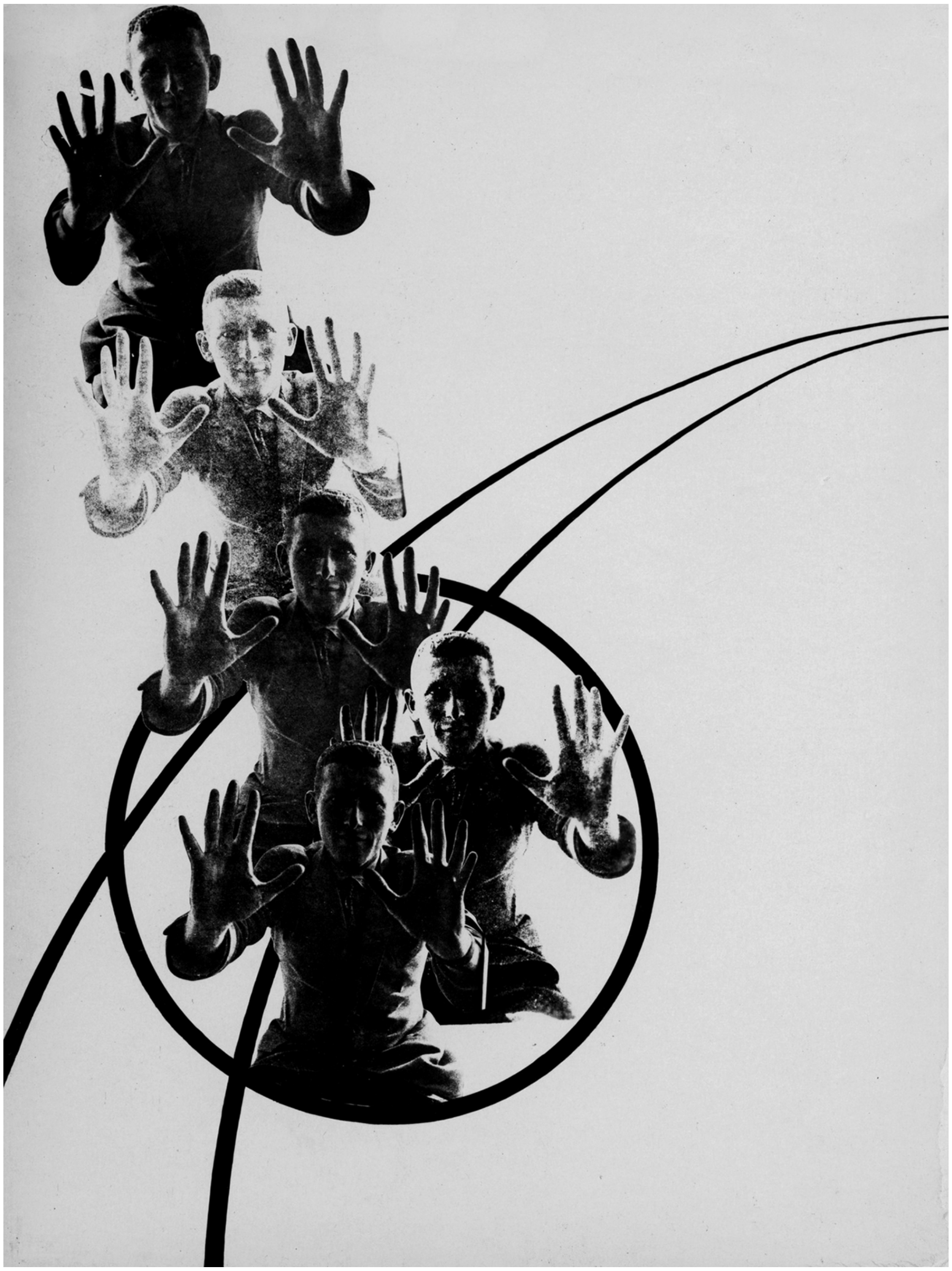


211 László Moholy-Nagy, *Leda and the Swan*, 1925

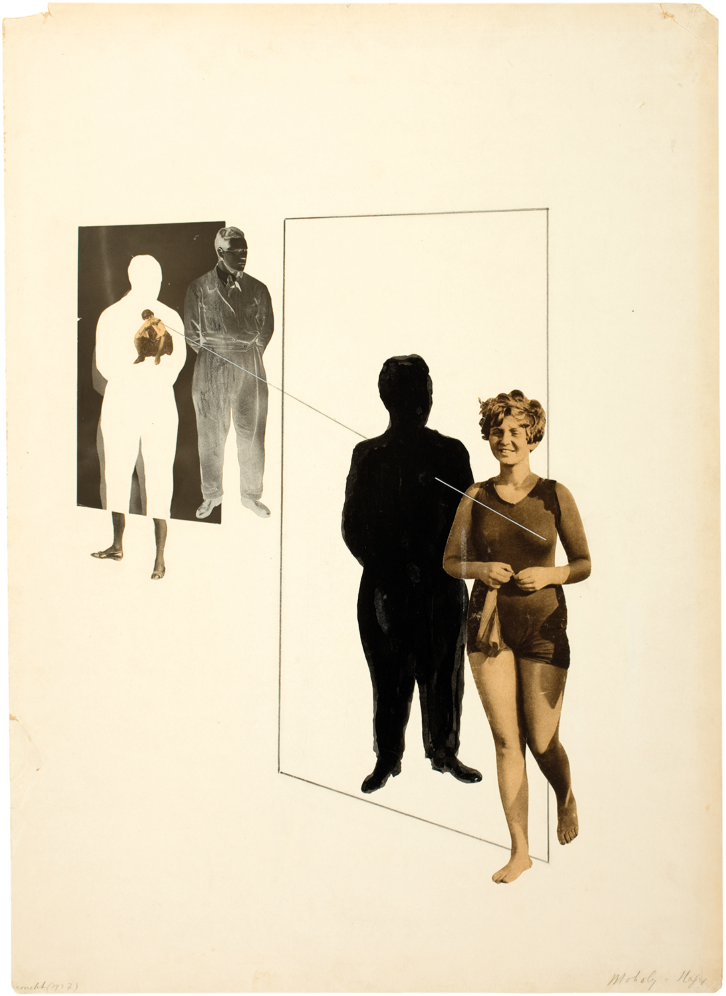
The idea of a photographic sequence, the basis for some of Moholy-Nagy's most striking photomontages, had a particular relation to the qualities of mechanical reproduction of the photograph: 'repetition as a space-time organizational motif, which, in such wealth and exactitude, could be achieved only by means of the technical, industrialized system of reproduction characteristic of our time'. The repetition of an image, Moholy-Nagy believed, minimized its particularity as a representation, and enabled it to become a unit, a part of an overall design:

> *The series is no longer a 'picture', and none of the canons of pictorial aesthetics can be applied to it. Here the separate picture loses its identity as such and becomes a detail of assembly, an essential structural element of the whole which is the thing itself. In this concatenation of its separate but inseparable parts a photographic series inspired by a definite purpose can become at once the most potent weapon and the tenderest lyric.*[4]

Delicately, in *The Law of Series*, and with more vivid fantasy in *The Shooting Gallery*, Moholy repeats an image, but with such variations that a counterpoint is created between its identity as a structural element and its identity as a picture.[212, 213] Andy Warhol, by contrast, in his paintings and screen prints on canvas of Coca-Cola bottles or soup tins, repeats the same image until it becomes a decorative overall design.

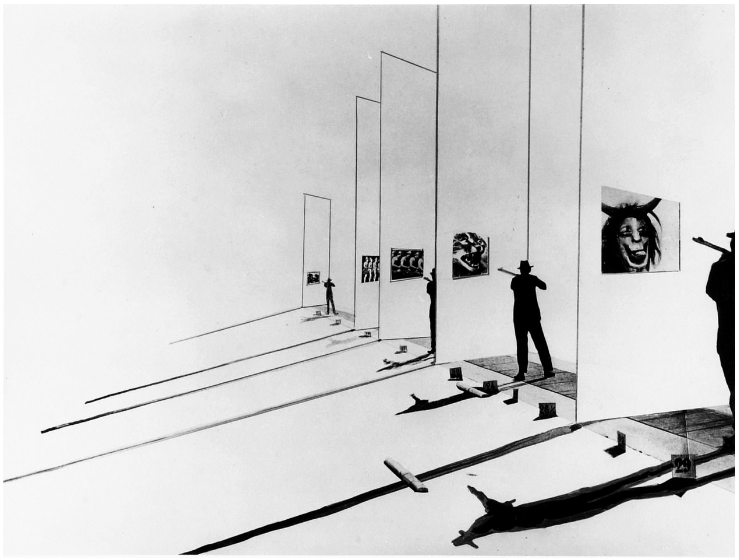


212 László Moholy-Nagy, *The Law of Series*, 1925

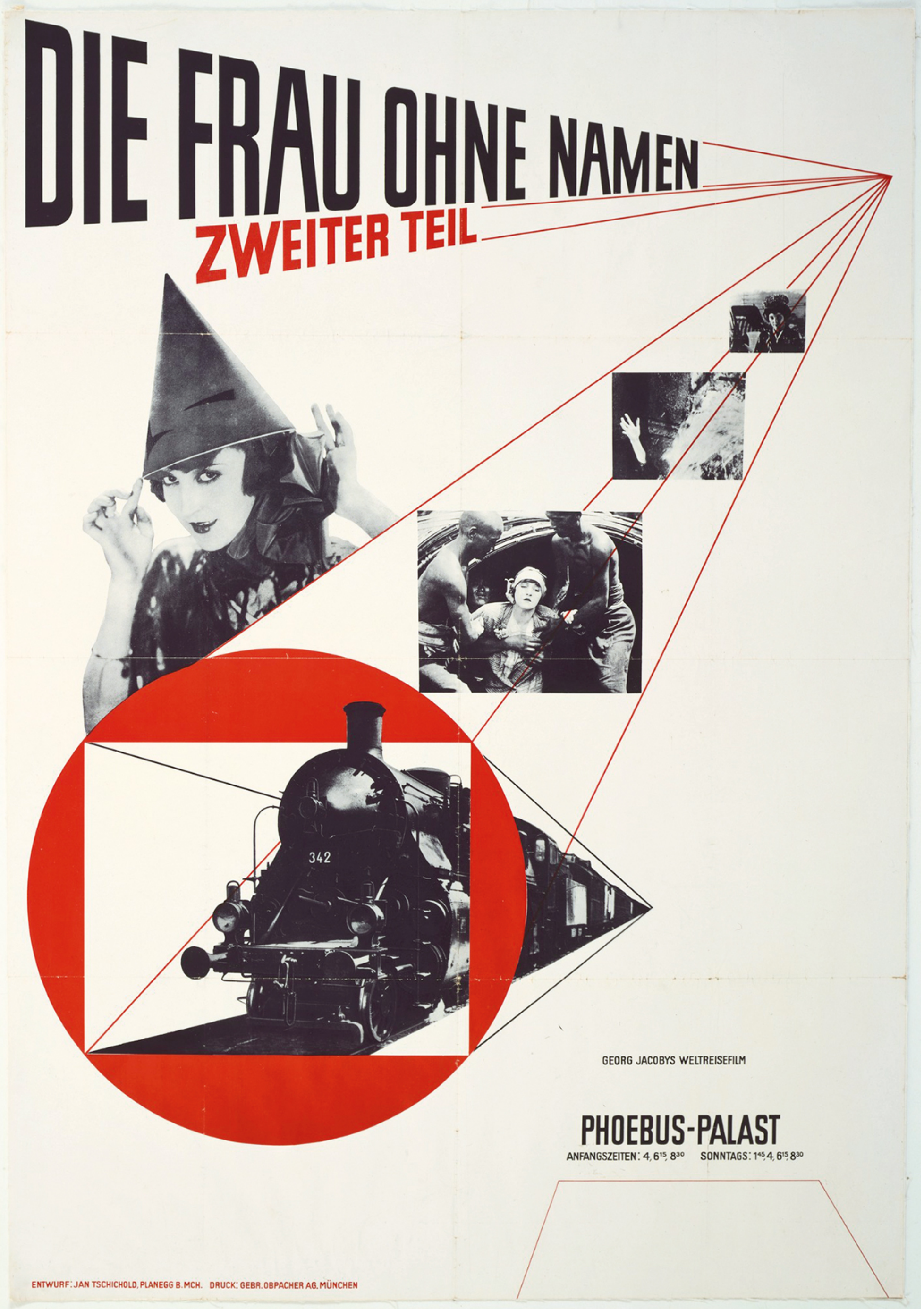


213 László Moholy-Nagy, *Jealousy*, 1930

The subtle differences of exposure in each repeated image of *The Law of Series* are significant in building up an abstract pattern of light, shade, texture, not unlike the pattern set up by the repeated tractors in the Stenbergs’ *To the Fallow Ground* (1928).[111] Moholy-Nagy’s emphasis on repetition as a formal device uniquely available to photomontage is really the reverse of that quality of photomontage explored by the Dadaists and Heartfield – its capacity for expressing oppositions, for dialectics. While not totally denuded of its representational qualities (the photograph is less incidental for him than it is, sometimes, in the work of graphic designers such as Tschichold), the photographic image has become essential, not just added to the non-objective clarity of the composition.[215]

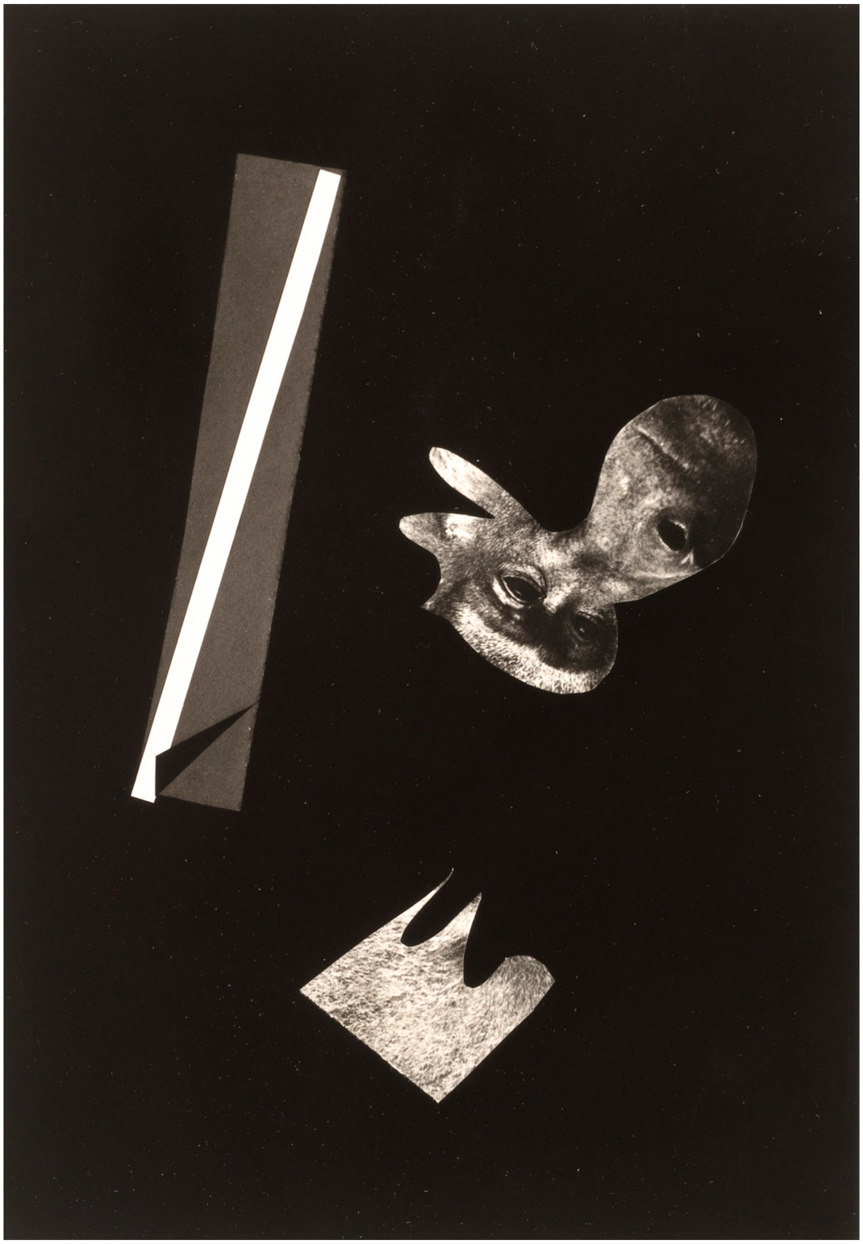


214 László Moholy-Nagy, *The Shooting Gallery*, 1925


DIE FRAU OHNE NAMEN
ZWEITER TEIL
342
GEORG JACOBYS WELTREISEFILM
PHOEBUS-PALAST
ANFANGSZEITEN: 4, 6^{15}, 8^{30} SONNTAGS: 1^{45}, 4, 6^{15}, 8^{30}
ENTWURF: JAN TSCHICHOLD, PLANEGG B. MCH. DRUCK: GEBR. OBPACHER AG, MÜNCHEN

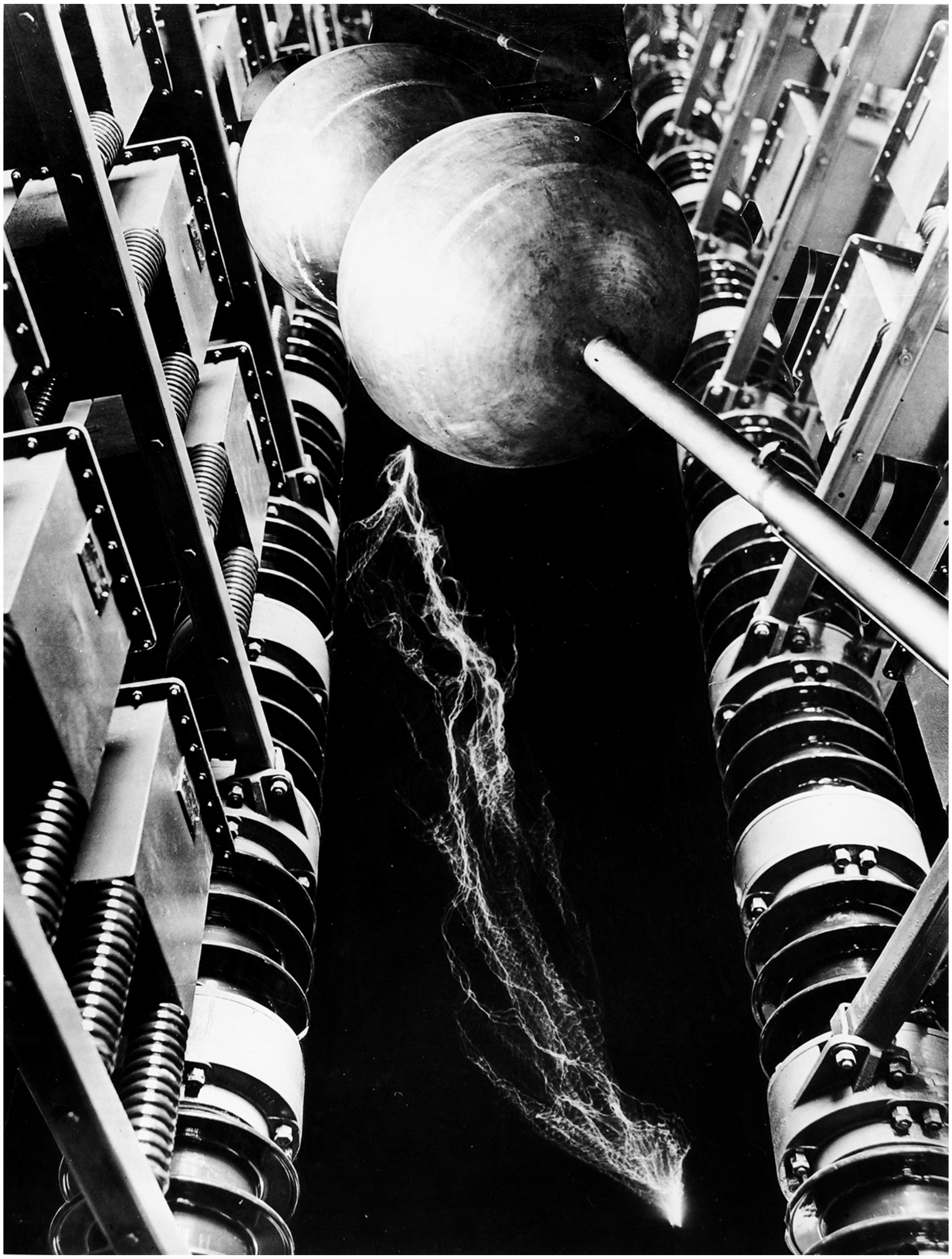
215 Jan Tschichold, poster for the film *Die Frau Ohne Namen*, 1928

A number of De Stijl and International Constructivist artists also, for a variety of reasons, sometimes turned to photomontage. Of these, Vordemberge-Gildewart’s use of photographic materials is closely linked to his work in other mediums. He made neo-plastic paintings, reliefs and collages as well as photomontages. In *Untitled* (1928), he combines abstract pictorial elements with initially representational ones; the head of a chimpanzee is from a book of animal photographs by Paul Eipper, but has been turned upside down and altered by enclosure in dense, shiny black paper.[216]

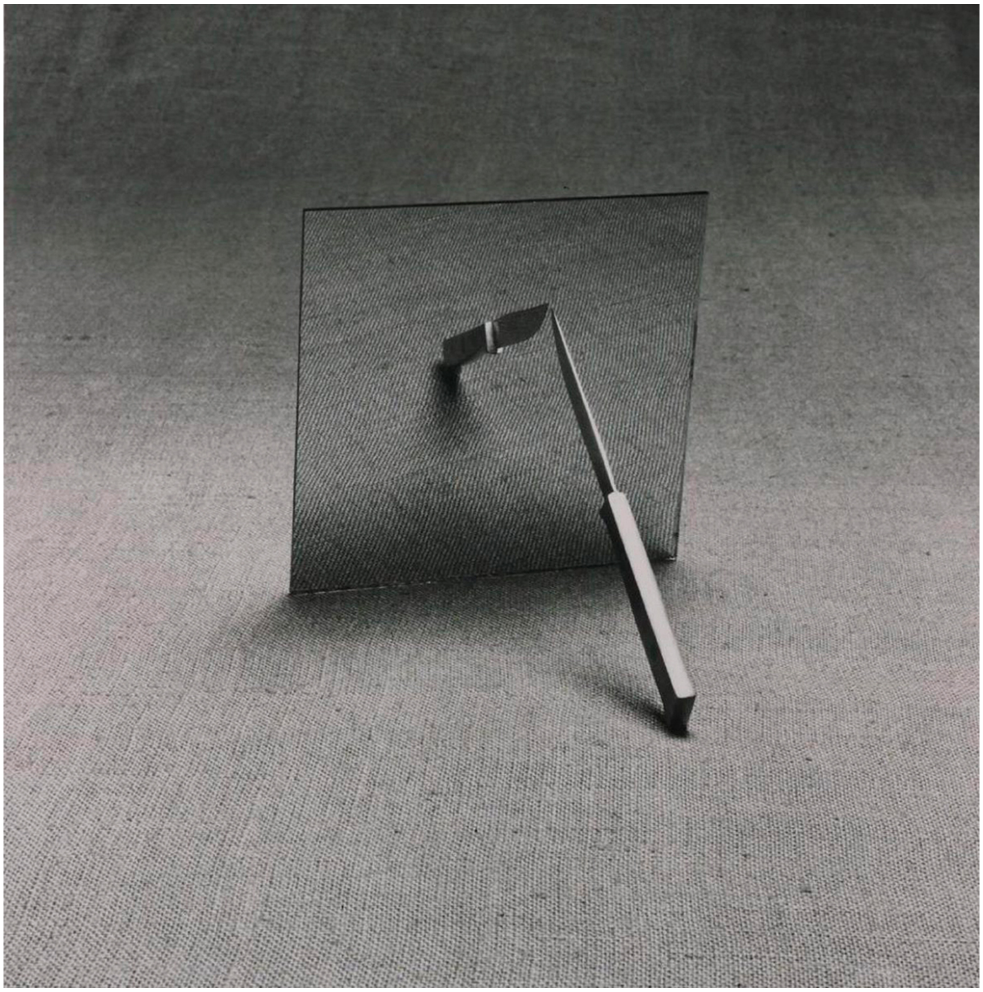


216 Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, *Untitled*, 1928

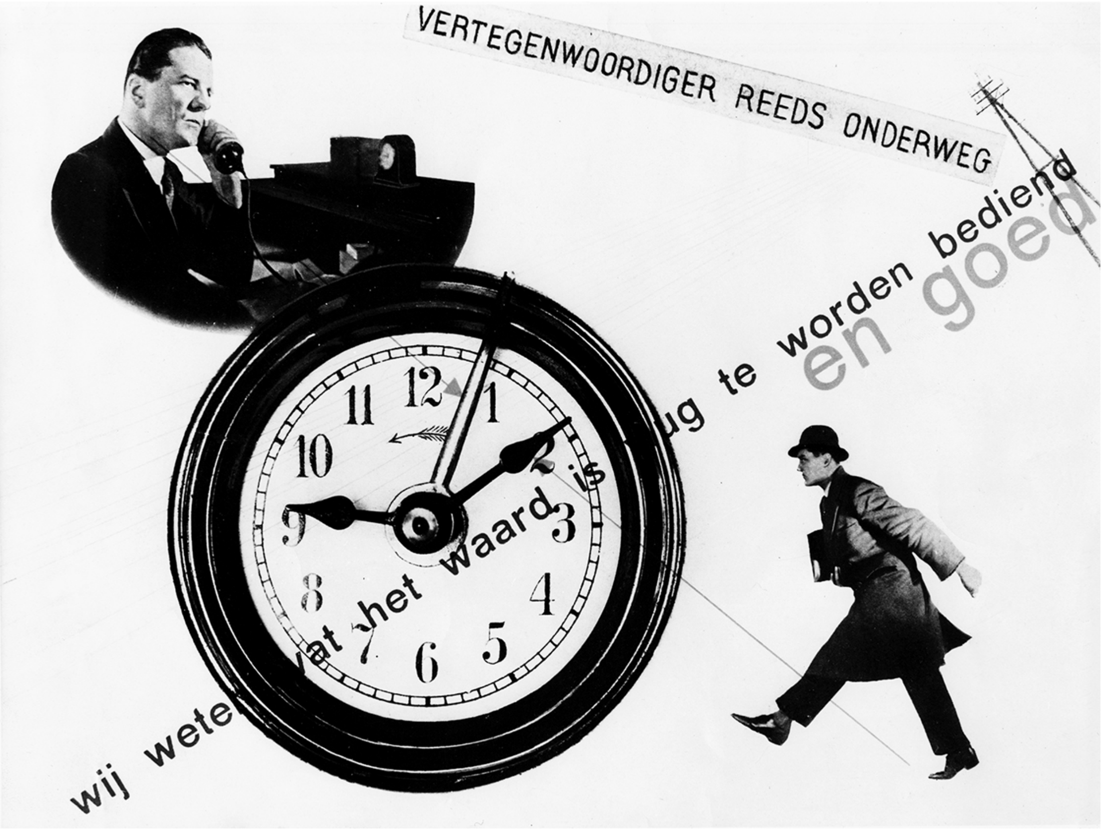
César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, another De Stijl artist who painted and made reliefs and constructions, works of ordered and geometric abstraction, used photographs of industrial sites and details of machines in his photomontages. Rather than disguising or subverting these, he emphasized their impact and force by the use of powerful diagonals, contrasts of scale and angled views. In *Energy* (1931), a close-up of static electricity generators is combined with a steep perspective of industrial machinery.[**217**] He and his colleagues collaborated to promote their work to companies and corporations for use in advertising campaigns. During the 1920s and early 1930s in particular, numerous adventurous companies used work by radical young artists and designers (many incorporating photomontages) such as Piet Zwart, Schuitema, Burchartz and Jan Tschichold.[**219**]



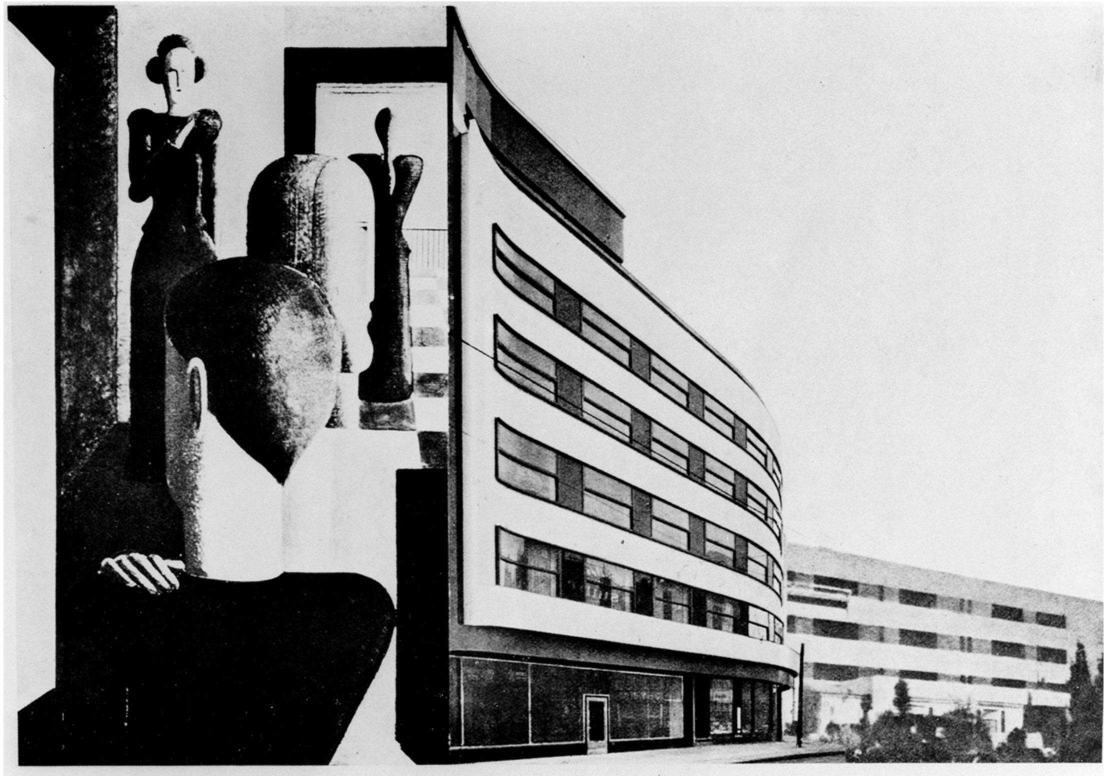
217 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, *Energy*, 1931



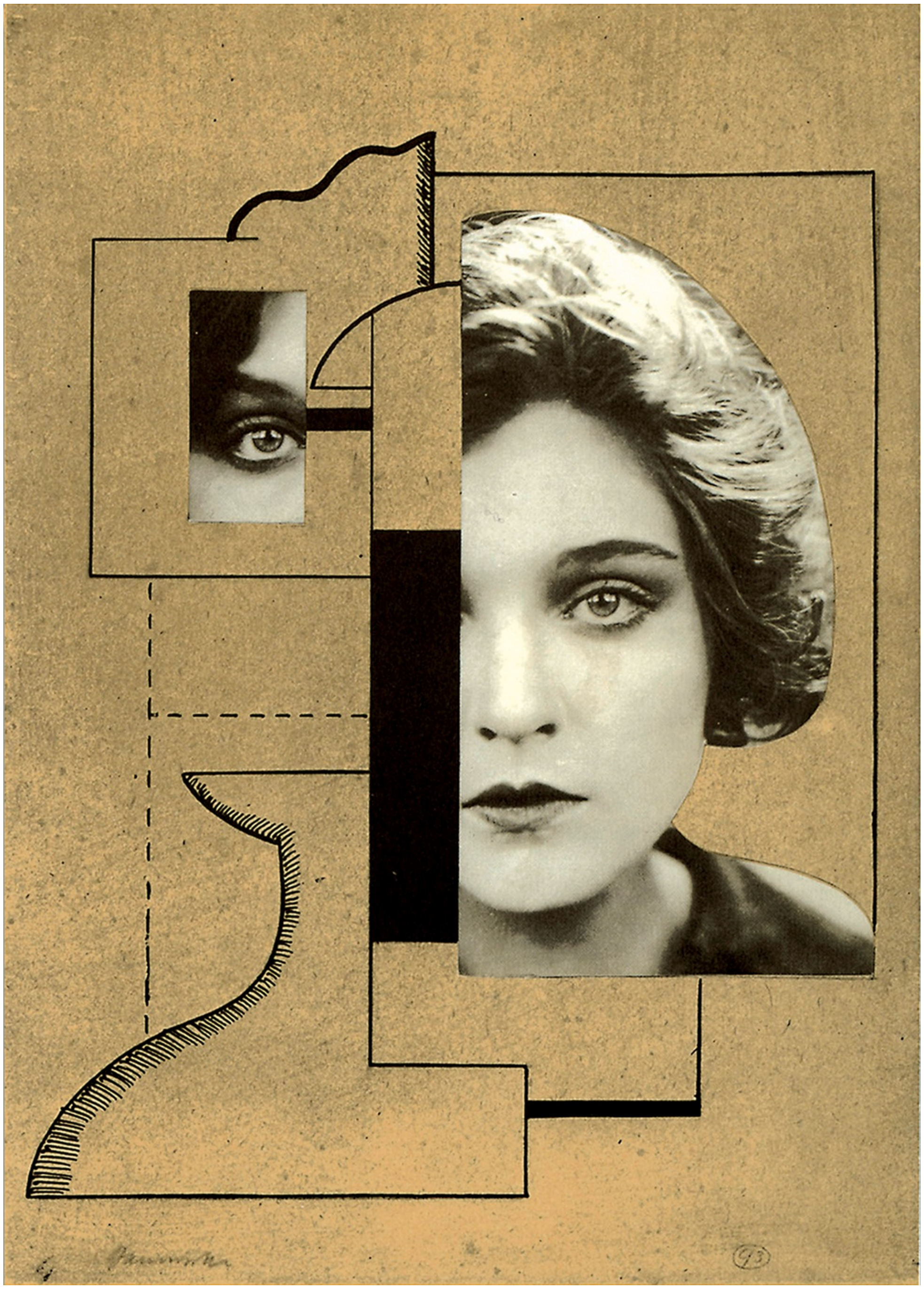
218 Tim Head, *Equilibrium (Knife’s Edge)*, 1976


VERTEGENWOORDIGER REEDS ONDERWEG
wij weten dat het waard is vlug te worden bediend
en goed

219 Piet Zwart, advertising photomontage, 1931. Photomontage was increasingly utilized in advertising in the late 1920s and 1930s, often by artists whose ‘studio work’ was abstract.



220 Hans Leistikow, photomontage reproduced in *Photo-Eye*, 1929



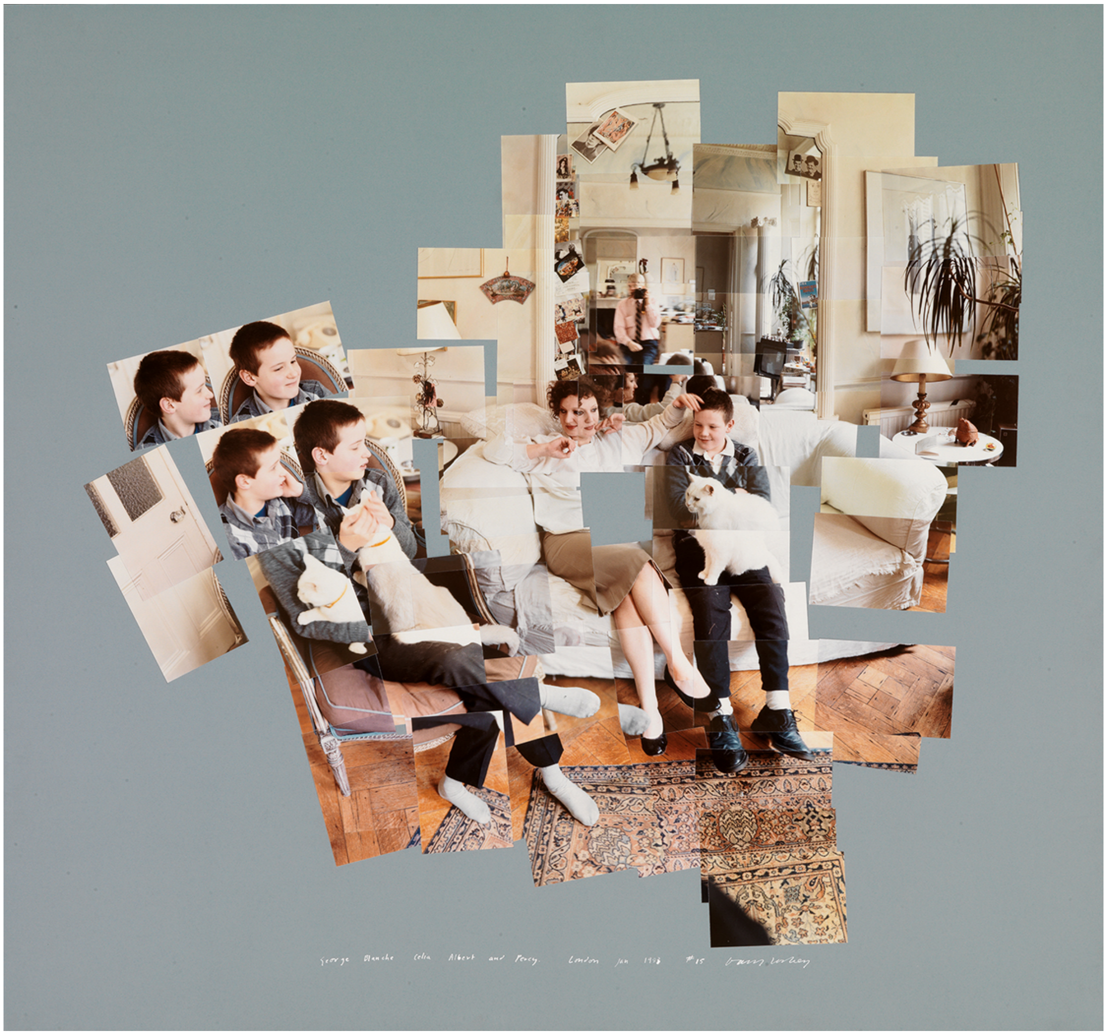
221 Willi Baumeister, *Head*, 1923

Endnote

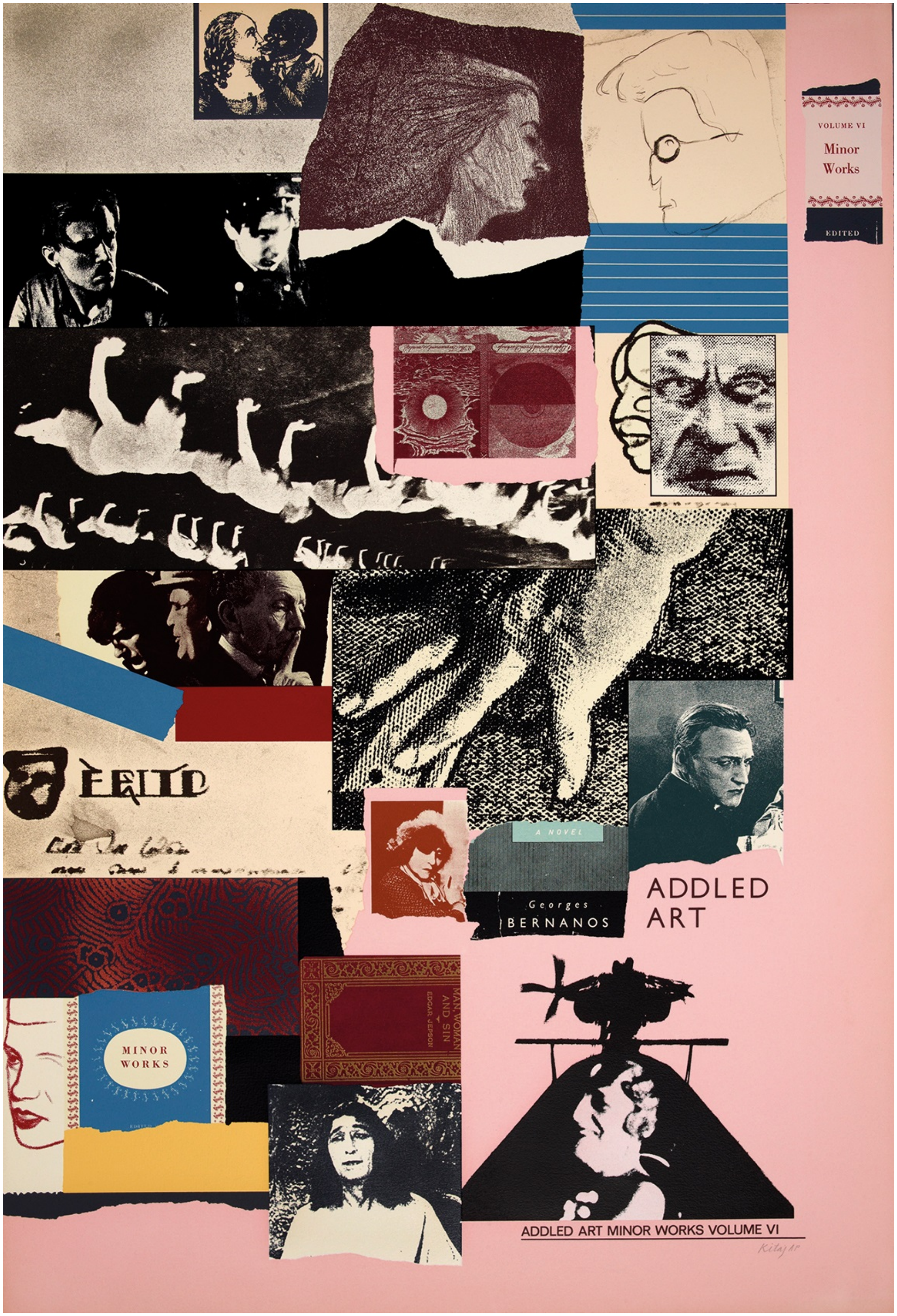
Raoul Hausmann has been amply proved right since, in 1931, he wrote:

> *The field of photomontage is so vast that it has as many possibilities as there are different milieux, and in its social structure and the resulting psychological superstructure the milieu changes every day. The possibilities of photomontage are limited only by the discipline of its formal means.*[1]

Since the 1930s, photographic processes have evolved, from everyman’s Xerox to the sophisticated and expensive techniques of advertising, potential extensions and refinements of photomontage. Artists such as Andy Warhol and Robert Rauschenberg have taken advantage of these ever-developing processes to incorporate photographic material into their work. The silkscreen print, now often made photographically, can, as in Kitaj’s *Addled Art* (1975), combine photographs (and, in this case, a film still from Dalí and Buñuel’s *L’Age d’Or*).[**223**]


George Blanche Celia Albert and Percy. London Jan 1983 #15 David Hockney

222 David Hockney, *George, Blanche, Celia, Albert and Percy*, 1983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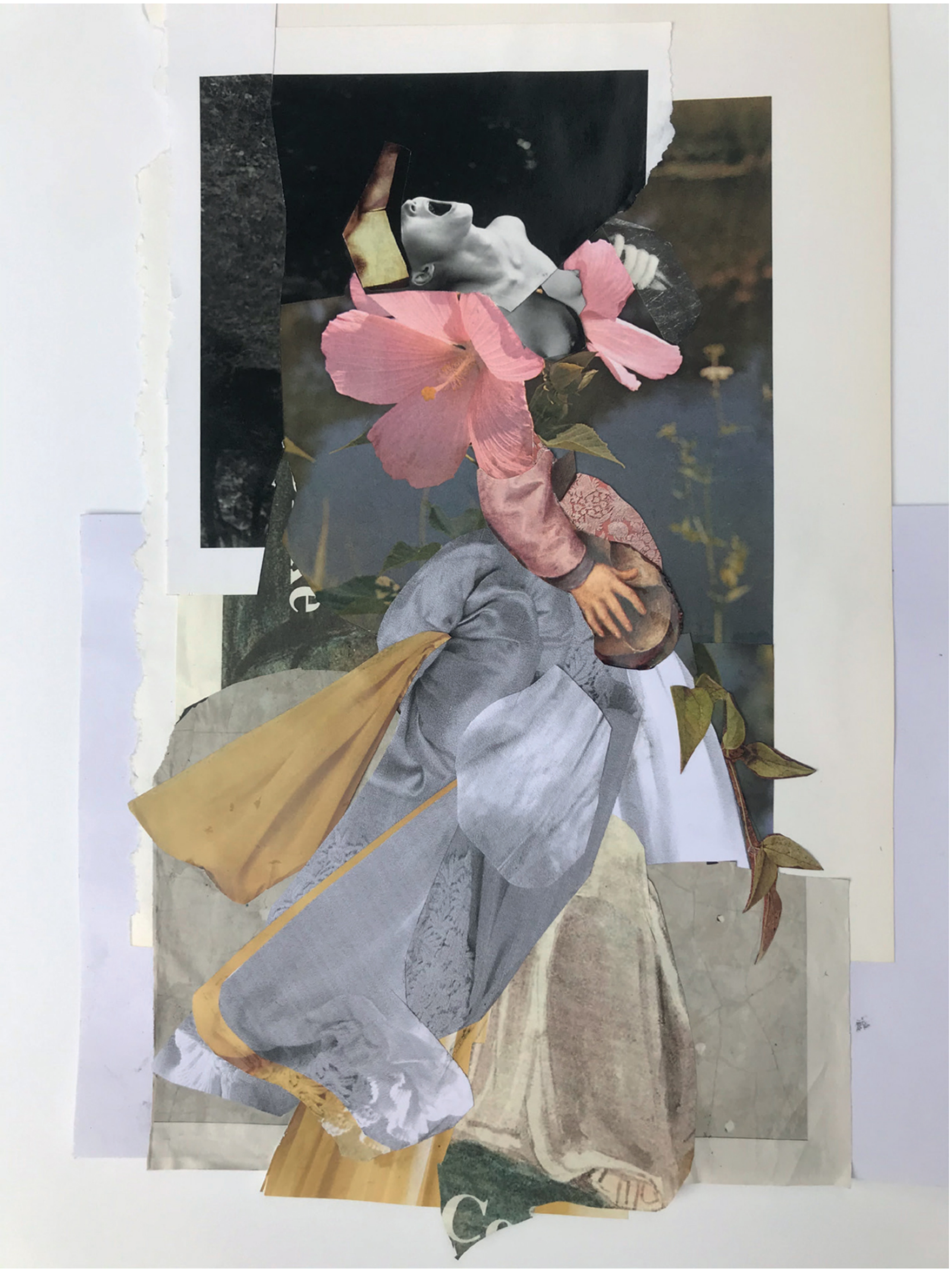
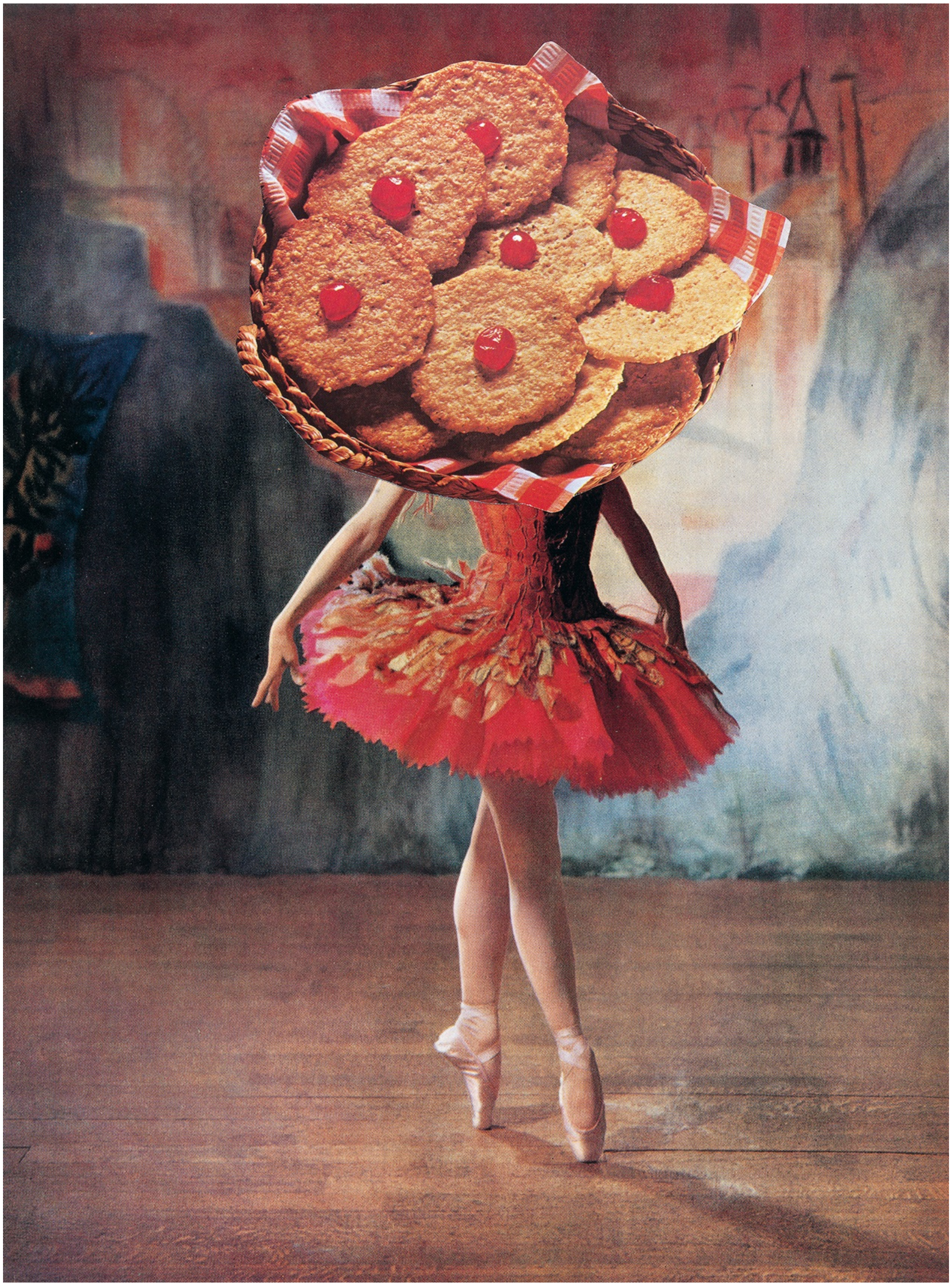
223 R. B. Kitaj, *Addled Art*, 1975



224 Kathy Bruce, *Beautiful Deadly Flowers*, 2020



225 Linder, *Cakewalk Balletomane*, 2010

This book has examined the historical origins of photomontage, traced its developments in different contexts and suggested some predominant themes and uses. A high proportion of the photomontages discussed and reproduced date from the 1920s and 1930s, when its capacity both to disorient in the present and to promise an ideal future made it the favourite medium of Dadaists and Surrealists, the Russian Constructivists and certain Modernists.

Always valued for its accessibility in terms of the viewer, photomontage has increasingly become the site for multiple crossovers and cross-fertilizations between art, anti-art, advertising and popular culture. This goes back, in fact, to some of the earliest examples, such as Hannah Höch's magisterial *Da-Dandy* (1919).[**1**]

Photomontage also remains an effective medium for the interplay between propaganda or advertising, whether political or commercial, and satire. Its capacity to expose hidden prejudices and assumptions in the common currency of visual images through juxtaposition is as pertinent as ever. The political–satirical photomontages of 'Cold War Steve', which have appeared on the cover of *Time*, are a case in point.[**72**] Parallels could perhaps be drawn with moving images, for example the fake interviews in the 'Big Dada' videos, in which very well-known people like Barack Obama or Mark Zuckerberg are seen to make speeches totally out of character, dropping in references to 'Spectre', a fictional tech company (the specific target was the illegal gathering of data by big tech companies). The parallel lies in the clashing juxtaposition of speech and persona, words and images. But despite photomontage's parentage in cinematic montage, it is in essence static. Although references to film abound through its history, it draws much of its impact and subversive ambiguity from the simultaneity of its juxtapositions: all at once, not sequential. The clashes, conjunctions, deviations, contrasts and visual metaphors in the still photomontage can subsequently be lingered over and explored.

To fully take stock of Hausmann's 1931 comment on the vast possibilities of photomontage and its uses in the present day would require another book. But it does seem that the worlds of advertising and politics are not the only places where it is flourishing. Photomontage is also buoyant as an extraordinarily flexible and rich medium for artists as different as Linder, John Welson and Kathy Bruce.

Notes

Preface

1 ‘Linder in Conversation with Dawn Ades’, *Linder* (London, 2015), p. 10.

2 In order to negotiate the problem, in his comprehensive *Collage*: *The Making of Modern Art* (London, 2004) Brandon Taylor refers to ‘montage’ rather than photomontage in relation to artists such as Hannah Höch and John Heartfield. This is of course fine as far as it goes, acknowledging the double connection to cinematic montage and to the famous claim by Heartfield to have chosen to be a *monteur,* fitter, in an engineering sense, but it eliminates the key presence of the photographic.

Introduction

1 See also A. Jakovsky, *A Picture Postcard Album* (London, 1961), and Paul Eluard’s marvellous collection ‘Les plus belles cartes postales’ in *Minotaure,* no. 3–4, December 1933.

2 See Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (London, 1974), p. 109.

3 Paul Hammond discusses the possible influence on Méliès of Albert Allis Hopkins’s *Magic,* S*tage Illusions and Scientific Diversions, Including Trick Photography* (London, 1897), which ‘provided a convenient resumé of contemporary photographic trickery’, in his *Marvellous Méliès* (London, 1974).

4 Raoul Hausmann, *Courrier Dada* (Paris, 1958), p. 42, author’s translation.

5 It is curious that Walter Benjamin, who in ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’ (1936) credits Dada with the ‘destruction of the aura of their creations’ through the use of valueless materials in collages, and with an impulse towards effects attainable ‘only with a changed technical standard’ – i.e., film – should not have noted the special effect of photomontage.

6 Quoted in Van Deren Coke, *The Painter and the Photograph* (Albuquerque, 1972), p. 259. Höch made a similar point in discussion with the author in 1977.

7 Louis Aragon, ‘Max Ernst, peintre des illusions’ in *Les Collages* (Paris, 1965), p. 29, author’s translation.

8 Louis Aragon, ‘La peinture au défi’, op. cit. p. 44, author’s translation.

9 William Rubin, *Dada,* Su*rrealism and their Heritage,* exh. cat. (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1968), p. 42.

10 Sergei Tretyakov, *John Heartfield* (Moscow, 1936); quoted in *John Heartfield* (London, 1969).

11 Aaron Scharf, in a letter to the author.

1 The Supremacy of the Message Dada in Berlin

1 Franz Roh, *Foto-Auge/Oeil et Photo/Photo-Eye* (Stuttgart, 1929), p. 18. With seventy-six ‘photos of the period’, among them photomontages by Berlin and Cologne Dadaists, and Bauhaus photography, this book was published to coincide with the Stuttgart ‘Film und Foto Werkbund’ exhibition, which included photomontages by Heartfield, as well as examples of photomontage in advertising.

2 Hans Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art* (London, 1965), p. 117; first published in *Blätter des Piscatorbühne*, 1928.

3 Hausmann, op. cit. p. 42.

4 Richter, op. cit. p. 117.

5 *Hannah Höch*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1976), p. 31.

6 This satirical-political paper, brought out as the government of the new German Republic took office by the Malik-Verlag, Wieland Herzfelde's publishing house, and banned as soon as it appeared, was not published under the Dada banner *per se*. Malik-Verlag, founded during the First World War, published both Dada works and satirical-political reviews like *Jedermann…*, *Der Gegner* and *Die Pleite*. Grosz drawings and Grosz-Heartfield montages appeared in most of these publications.

7 See Herta Wescher, *Collage* (New York, 1968), p. 146.

8 Wescher (p. 145) refers to one of the sheets of montage portraits for *Der Dada* 3 containing a dedication from Grosz to 'Photomonteur R. Hausmann', and 'takes this as confirmation that Grosz acknowledged him to be the father of photomontage'.

9 See Hanne Bergius, 'Zu Wahrnehmung und Wahrnehmungskritik in Der Dadaistichen Phase von Grosz und Heartfield', in E. Siepmann, *Montage: John Heartfield* (Berlin, 1977).

10 Hausmann, op. cit. p. 46, author's translation.

11 Richard Huelsenbeck, 'En avant Dada', in Robert Motherwell (ed.), *Dada Painters and Poets* (New York, 1951), p. 40.

12 *The Daily Express* (21 April 1921) reported the trial: 'Official Germany's lack of a sense of humour was well illustrated today in a trial in which "Chief Dada" and "World Dada", two of the leaders of the Dadaist movement in Germany, were accused of mocking Prussian militarism. The "Dada" cult, which takes its name from the first word babies speak, has made vast strides in Germany recently. An exhibition in Berlin attracted much attention because of the caricatures of Prussian soldiers.'

13 Huelsenbeck, op. cit. p. 37

14 The full title is *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser dada durch dieletzte weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands* (*Cut with the Dada [cake]kitchen-knife through the last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany*). It is difficult to tell on the original whether 'küchenmesser' has an umlaut: if it has, it is 'kitchen-knife'; if not, 'cake-knife'. Both titles would be telling in terms of the 'New Woman', but it is now generally agreed to be kitchen-knife – see Maud Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife, the Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch* (Yale, 1993)

15 See John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters* (London, 1985), pp. 77–79.

16 George Grosz and Wieland Herzfelde, *Die Kunst ist in Gefahr* (Berlin, 1925).

Heartfield

17 Louis Aragon, 'John Heartfield et la beauté révolutionnaire', op. cit. p. 78, author's translation.

18 John Berger, Selected *Essays and Articles: The Look of Things (London*, 1972), p. 185.

19 Quoted in *John Heartfield* (Arts Council catalogue, 1969).

Propaganda, Publicity and Constructivism

20 Quoted in Szymon Bojko, *New Graphic Design in Revolutionary Russia* (London, 1972), p. 21.

21 Quoted in Hausmann, op. cit. p. 49, author's translation.

22 Vasilii Rakitin, ‘Gustav Klucis: Between the Non-Objective World and World Revolution’, *The Avant-Garde in Russia 1910–30* (Los Angeles, 1980), p. 62. See also Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven, 1983), p. 296, note 42.

23 See Ades, ‘Dada-Constructivism’, *Dada-Constructivism* (London, 1984), p. 43.

24 See Hubertus Gassner, ‘La construction de l’Utopie: photomontages en URSS 1919–42’, *Utopies et Réalités en URSS 1917–34*, p. 51, for a comparison between Klucis and Rodchenko.

25 See Rowell and Rudenstine, *Art of the Avant-Garde in Russia; Selections from the George Costakis Collection* (Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1981), pp. 188–89); Lodder, op. cit. pp. 186–91 and 296. Lodder slightly misunderstands my argument in claiming that I imply photomontage appeared under the aegis of *Lef*. What I argue was that the early date Klucis gave his first photomontages was in all probability correct, but that photomontage gathered momentum in 1923.

26 ‘Unovis: Affirmers of the New Art’.

27 Quoted by Bojko, op. cit. p. 30. Written on the back of a photograph of *Dynamic City*, in Klucis’s hand, is the following: ‘no. 5, 1919. The last stage of abstract art and the emergence of a new type of representation. A photograph is used here as factual material. This ended abstract art. From this point we can identify the beginning of photomontage in the USSR. It was a kind of graphic art for agitprop. It is used extensively in literature for the masses and political posters.’ My thanks to Kenneth Archer for this translation.

28 Kasimir Malevich, ‘Aux Novateurs de l’univers tout entier’ (1919), in *Arts et Poésies Russes 1910–30* (Paris, 1979), author’s translation.

29 The theme of sport was continued in a series of photomontage postcards in 1928.

30 See Bojko, op. cit. p. 30.

31 El Lissitzky, ‘Ideological Superstructures’ from *Neues Bauen in der Welt: Russland (1930)*; reprinted in Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers, *El Lissitzky* (London, 1968), p. 371.

32 *Lef*, no. 4, 1924, p. 41, translation Michael Skinner, 1985.

33 Osip Brik, ‘From Pictures to Textile Prints’ (1924), transl. in J. E. Bowlt (ed.), *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902–1934* (New York, 1976).

34 All quotations are from *Mayakovsky,* ed. and transl. Herbert Marshall (London, 1965).

35 El Lissitzky, ‘Our Book’ (1926) in Lissitzky-Küppers, op. cit. p. 359.

36 *Lef*, no. 1, March 1923.

37 Kuleshov, ‘The principles of montage’ (1935) in Levaco (ed.), *Kuleshov on Film* (Berkeley, 1974), p. 194.

38 Quoted by Alma Law, ‘The Russian Film Poster 1920–30’, in Ades, *The 20th Century Poster: Design of the Avant-Garde* (Minneapolis and New York, 1984), p. 80.

39 See *Women Artists of the Russian Avantgarde 1910–30* (Cologne, 1980) and *Kunst in die Produktion* (Berlin, 1977).

40 S. Kirsanov, quoted in Bojko, op. cit. p. 37.

2 Metropolis: The Vision of the Future

1 F. T. Marinetti, *The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism, 1909,* in Apollonio, *Futurist Manifestos* (London, 1973), p. 22.

2 El Lissitzky, ‘A. and Pangeometry’, from *Europa-Almanach* (1925)*;* reprinted in Lissitzky-Küppers, op. cit. p. 348.

3 Jacques Ohayon, ‘Malevitch: Le degré zéro de l’architecture’, in *Malevitch: Architectones Peintures Dessins*, exh. cat. (Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1980), p. 24.

4 I am indebted to Nicholas Boyarsky for pointing this out.

3 The Marvellous and the Commonplace

1 Elderfield, op. cit., pp. 79–80.

2 Max Ernst, *Beyond Painting* (New York, 1948), p. 14.

3 André Breton, *Le Surréalisme et la peinture* (Paris, 1928); transl. Simon Watson-Taylor, *Surrealism and Painting* (New York and London, 1972), p. 26.

4 Letter from Max Ernst to Tristan Tzara, 17 February 1920, in *Max Ernst*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1975).

5 Breton, preface to the Max Ernst exhibition, Paris, May 1921, in *Max Ernst*, op. cit. p. 177.

6 Breton, *Surrealism and Painting*, p. 27.

7 Ibid. p. 32.

8 Paul Nash, 'The Life of the inanimate object', *Country Life*, May 1937, p. 57.

9 In *Architectural Review*, April 1936, pp. 151–54.

10 From commentary in *View*, March 1945, by 'Cpl Peter Lindamood'.

11 Susan Sontag, 'Melancholy Objects', *On Photography* (London, 1979), p. 52.

12 See Breton, 'Introduction to the Discourse on the Paucity of Reality', transl. in Rosemont (ed.), *What is Surrealism?* (London, 1978) pp. 22–23.

13 Communication with the author, 2020.

14 I am grateful to Krzysztof Fijalkowski for this information.

15 *John Stezaker*, exh. cat. (London, 2011) p. 36.

4 Photomontage and Non-Objective Art

1 Quoted in Richard Kostelanetz (ed.), *Moholy-Nagy* (New York, 1970), p. 57.

2 Moholy-Nagy, *Painting Photography Film* (Bauhaus Book no. 8, repr. London, 1969).

3 Moholy-Nagy, 'Space, time and the photographer', in Kostelanetz, op. cit., p. 65.

4 Moholy-Nagy, 'A new instrument of vision', in Kostalanetz, op. cit., p. 50.

Endnote

1 Hausmann, op. cit., p. 48, author's translation

2 Höch was familiar with debates about the New Woman and their relevance to her position as an independent artist. See Ades 'Hannah Höch, Dada and the "New Woman"', in *Hannah Höch*, exh. cat. (London, 2014), pp. 18–29.

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2 Lang Jingshan, *Majestic Solitude*, 1934. Gelatin silver print, 34.8 × 24.4 (13 $^{11}/_{16}$ × 9 ⅝). M+ Collection, Hong Kong, Gift of MK Lau Foundation Ltd, 2021. © All rights reserved

3 Shi Xinning, *Duchamp Retrospective Exhibition in China*, 2000–1. Oil on canvas, 100 × 100 (39 ⅜ × 39 ⅜). M+ Sigg Collection, Hong Kong, donation. © Shi Xinning

4 William Henry Fox Talbot, *Leaf of a Plant*, before 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Jean Horblit, in memory of Harrison D. Horblit, 1994, 1994.197.2 (2)

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8 Georges Méliès, still from *The Man With the Rubber Head*, 1902. Photo BFI National Archive, London

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11 George Grosz, *Heartfield the Mechanic*, 1920. Watercolour, ink, pencil, and cut-and-pasted printed paper on paper, 41.9 × 30.5 (16 ½ × 12). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of A. Conger Goodyear. © Estate of George Grosz, Princeton, N.J./DACS 2021

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17 *Germany's Safeguard*, 1913. Photomontage. Altonaer Museum, Hamburg

18 Hannah Höch, *Dada-Ernst*, 1920–21. Collage on paper, 18.6 × 16.6 (7 $^{5}/_{16}$ × 6 $^{9}/_{16}$). Vera & Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art/Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Bridgeman Images. © DACS 2021

19 Hannah Höch, *Untitled*, 1921. Photomontage, 35.6 × 30.5 (14 × 12). Morton G. Neumann Family Collection. © DACS 2021

20 John Heartfield, 'Typocollage', *Neue Jugend*, no. 2, June 1917. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

21 John Heartfield, cover of *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball*, no. 1, 15 February 1919. Photomontage, 43.5 × 29.5 (17.1 × 11.6). © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

22 George Grosz and John Heartfield, *Dada-merika*, 1919. Photomontage, 29 × 19 (11 $^{7}/_{16}$ × 7 ½). © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS/© Estate of George Grosz, Princeton, N.J./DACS 2021

23 John Heartfield, cover for *Der Dada 3*, Berlin, April 1920. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

24 Johannes Baader, *Untitled (Advertisement for Myself [Reklame für mich])* on poster designed by Raoul Hausmann for *Dada Milchstrasse* (Dada Milky Way) performance, 1920. Cut-and-pasted printed paper, coloured paper, and ink on printed paper, 50 × 32.5 (19 $^{11}/_{16}$ × 12 $^{13}/_{16}$). Museum of Modern Art, New York, The Merrill C. Berman Collection. Acquired through the generosity of Alice and Tom Tisch, Jo Carole and Ronald S. Lauder, Sue and Edgar Wachenheim III, David Booth, Marlene Hess and James D. Zirin, Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis, Jack Shear, the Patricia Bonfield Endowed Acquisition Fund for the Design Collection, Daniel and Jane Och, The Orentreich Family Foundation, Emily Rauh Pulitzer, The Modern Women's Fund; and by exchange: Gift of Jean Dubuffet in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Colin, The Judith Rothschild Foundation Contemporary Drawings Collection, and the Richard S. Zeisler Bequest, 400.2018. Courtesy Estate of the Artist

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30 Raoul Hausmann, *The Spirit of Our Time – Mechanical Head*, 1919. Wood, metal, leather and cardboard, 32.5 × 21 (12 $^{13}/_{16}$ × 8 ¼). Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/image Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

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35 Kurt Schwitters, *Film*, 1926. Photomontage-collage, mounted on cardboard, 25.8 × 19 (10 $^{3}/_{16}$ × 7 ½). Sprengel Museum, Hannover

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61 Cas Oorthuys and J. J. Voskuil, poster for exhibition on Olympics under Nazi patronage, 1936. Photomontage. Courtesy Nederlands Fotomuseum/© Cas Oorthuys

62 John Heartfield, *Herr von Papen on the Hunting Path*, 11 October 1934. Photomontage, 44.7 × 33.8 (17 ⅝ × 13 $^{5}/_{16}$). Photo Akademie der Künste, Berlin. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

63 John Heartfield, *German Natural History: Metamorphosis*, 16 August 1934. Photomontage, 38 × 27 (14 $^{15}/_{16}$ × 10 ⅝). Photo Akademie der Künste, Berlin. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

64 John Heartfield, *WAR: Sudeten Germans, you'll be the first!* 13 September 1938. Photomontage, 38 × 27 (14 $^{15}/_{16}$ × 10 ⅝). Photo Akademie der Künste, Berlin. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

65 Josep Renau, *Industria de Guerra, potente palanca de la victoria* (*Army Industry, Powerful Lever of Victory*). Photomontage poster, 98.5 × 66 (38 ¾ × 26). Published during the Spanish Civil War, *c.* 1937. © Fundació Josep Renau, València

66 John Heartfield, Manifesto of Spanish Communist Party published by Central Committee, Barcelona. Photomontage. Canning House Library, London. © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

67 David King, *A Short Sharp Shock*, 1980. Photomontage poster, 45 × 64.3 (17.7 × 25.3). Hoffmitz Milken Center for Typography, ArtCenter College of Design, California. Photo HMCT collection, courtesy of Judy Groves. © David King

68 *Private Eye* cover, March 1966. Photomontage. Photo courtesy *Private Eye*

69 Red Dragon Print Collective, *Control*, poster designed by Martin J. Walker for RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison), 1975. Photomontage 51 × 33 (20 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 13). Photo University of Warwick. Courtesy Red Dragon Print Collective

70 Peter Kennard, *Defended to Death*, 1983. Photographs on paper and gouache on card, 47 × 31.5 (18 ½ × 12 ⅜). Photo Tate, London. © Peter Kennard. All Rights Reserved, DACS 2021

71 Peter Kennard, *Haywain with Cruise Missiles*, 1980. Chromolithograph on paper and photographs on paper, 26 × 37.5 (10 ¼ × 14 ¾). Photo Tate, London. © Peter Kennard. All Rights Reserved, DACS 2021

72 Cold War Steve (Christopher Spencer), *Hellscape, The Coronation, 2020*. © Cold War Steve

73 El Lissitzky, poster for the Exhibition of Soviet Art, Zürich, 1929. Gravure, 126.7 × 90.5 (49 ⅞ × 35 ⅝). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Purchase Fund, Jan Tschichold Collection, 353.1937

74 El Lissitzky and Sergey Senkin, *The Task of the Press is the Education of the Masses*. Photographic frieze for International Press Exhibition, Cologne, 1928

75 Entrance to Soviet Pavilion, International Hygiene Exhibition, Dresden, 1930. Photomontages and photographs. Photo courtesy VEB Verlag der Kunst, Dresden

76 Varvara Stepanova, Untitled from *Gaust Tschaba*, 1919. Collage on book page, 26.7 × 16.8 (10 ½ × 6 ⅝). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Harvey S. Shipley Miller in honor of Christophe Cherix, 1422.2016. © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

77 Gustav Klutsis, *The Old World and The World being built Anew*, 1920. Photomontage. MOMus - Thessaloniki Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts

78 Gustav Klutsis, *Dynamic City*, 1919. Photomontage, collage, gouache, pencil and aluminium foil on paper, 37.6 × 25.8 (14 $^{13}/_{16}$ × 10 $^{3}/_{16}$). Collection Latvian National Museum of Art, Riga, VMM Z-8750/48

79 Gustav Klutsis, *Dynamic City*, 1919–21. Oil with sand and concrete on wood 87 × 64.5 (34 ¼ × 25 ⅜). MOMus - Museum of Modern Art, Thessaloniki, Costakis Collection, 421/94.78

80 Gustav Klutsis, *The Electrification of the Entire Country*, 1920. Photomontage. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (LC-DIG-ppmsca-11681)

81 Sergey Senkin, photomontage for a special edition of *Molodaya gwardya* (to Lenin), 1924

82 Gustav Klutsis, *Cnop/Sport*, 1923. Illustration in the magazine Proletarskoye Studentchestvo. Letterpress on paper, 25.8 × 16.6 (10 $^{3}/_{16}$ × 6 $^{9}/_{16}$). Collection Latvian National Museum of Art, Riga, VMM Z-8750/48

83 Gustav Klucis, photomontage for a special edition of *Molodaya gwardya* (to Lenin), 1924. Russian State Library, Moscow. Fine Art Images/Heritage Image Partnership Ltd/Alamy Stock Photo

84 El Lissitzky (studio), *The Lenin Podium*, 1924 (based on a sketch of 1920). Drawing with photomontage

85 Juryi Roshkov, photomontage for Mayakovsky's poem 'A temporary monument…', *c*. 1924. Courtesy Kira Matissen

86 Alexander Rodchenko, *The Crisis*, 1923. Photomontage, 20.5 × 13.8 (8 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 5 $^{7}/_{16}$). Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney. © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

87 Gustav Klutsis, poster for an anti-imperialist exhibition, 1931. Letterpress, 138.5 × 104.7 (54 ½ × 41 ¼). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of The Lauder Foundation, Leonard and Evelyn Lauder Fund, 36.1997

88 Poster marking the fourteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, 1931. Photomontage, 73.7 × 53.3 (29 × 21). Poster RU/SU 1985, Poster collection, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, California

89 Liubov Popova, documentary photograph of set design for *Zemila Dybom*, 1923. RGALI (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), Moscow

90 Gustav Klutsis, *The Struggle for the Bolshevik Harvest is the Struggle for Socialism* from the *Struggle for the Five-Year Plan* series of posters, 1931. Lithograph, 143.2 × 100.7 (56 ⅜ × 39 ⅝). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Karl Gerstner, 341.1966

91 Gustav Klutsis, *Transport Achievement of the First Five-Year Plan*, 1929. Photomontage, 73.3 × 50.5 (28 ⅞ × 19 ⅞). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Purchase fund, Jan Tschichold Collection, 146.1968

92–94 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages for Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923. State Museum of V. V. Mayakovsky, Moscow. © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

95 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontage for Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

96–99 Alexander Rodchenko, photomontages for Mayakovsky’s poem *About This*, 1923. State Museum of V. V. Mayakovsky, Moscow. © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

100 El Lissitzky, photomontage, 1931. Photo Novosti Press Agency

101 Alexander Rodchenko, cover for ‘Chernaya ruka’, Vol. 7 of ‘Mess mend ili Yanki v Petrograde’ (‘Mess mend, or Yankees in Petrograd’) by Jim Dollar (Marietta Saginyan), serialised novel, 1924. Printed from photomontage, 18 × 12.6 (7 ⅙ × 4 $^{15}/_{16}$). National Gallery of Australia, Canberra. © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

102 Alexander Rodchenko, cover for ‘Genius Siska’ Vol. 8 of ‘Mess mend ili Yanki v Petrograde’ (‘Mess mend, or Yankees in Petrograd’) by Jim Dollar (Marietta Saginyan), serialised novel, 1924. Printed from photomontage, 17.9 × 12.7 (7 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 5). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Kenneth Walker Fund, 407.1991.8. © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

103 El Lissitzky, cover for Richard Neutra, *Amerika*, Vol. 2, 1930. Printed from photomontage, 29 × 22.7 (11 $^{7}/_{16}$ × 8 $^{15}/_{16}$). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of The Judith Rothschild Foundation, 363.2001

104 Solomon Telingater, photomontage for I. Feinberg, *The Year 1914*, 1934. © DACS 2021

105 El Lissitzky, cover of catalogue to Japanese Cinema Exhibition, Moscow, 1929 (detail). Collection Russian State Library, Moscow. Photo Sputnik/Alamy Stock Photo

106 Sergei Eisenstein, still from *Strike*, 1924

107 Dziga Vertov, still from *Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929

108 Alexander Rodchenko, poster for *Kino-Eye* directed by Dziga Vertov, 1924. Lithograph, 92.7 × 69.9 (36 ½ × 27 ½). © Rodchenko & Stepanova Archive, DACS, RAO 2021

109 Boris Prusakov, *I Hurry to see the Khaz Push*, 1927–28. Offset lithograph 76.5 × 110.5 (30 ⅛ × 43 ½). Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York, Given anonymously, 93.1961

110 Vladimir and Georgii Stenberg, poster for *The Eleventh*, directed by Dziga Vertov, 1928. Lithograph 92.7 × 69.9 (36 ½ × 27 ½). © DACS 2021

111 Vladimir and Georgii Stenberg, *Giant on Virgin Soil*, 1930. Photo Ruklevsky/Alamy Stock Photo. © DACS 2021

112 Mieczyslaw Szczuka, *Kemal's Constructive Program*, 1924. Photomontage. Photo courtesy Muzeum Sztuki, Lodz

113 John Heartfield, *Liberty Fights in their Ranks* (after Delacroix), 19 August 1936. Photomontage, 40 × 29 (15 ¾ × 11 $^{7}/_{16}$). © The Heartfield Community of Heirs/DACS 2021

114 Mieczyslaw Berman, *The Red Cap* (after Delacroix), 1969. Photocollage, 40 × 29 (15 ¾ × 11 $^{7}/_{16}$). Photo courtesy Galleria Schwartz, Milan

115 Alexander Zhitomirsky, *This Man is Leading Germany into a Catastrophe*, 1941. Photomontage, 50 × 31.5 (19 $^{11}/_{16}$ × 12 ⅜). © Vladimir Zhitomirsky

116 Mieczyslaw Berman, *Construction I*, 1927. Photomontage, 57 × 36.5 (22 $^{7}/_{16}$ × 14 ⅜). Photo courtesy Galleria Schwartz, Milan

117 El Lissitzky, montage from *USSR in Construction*, no. 10, 1932, Moscow

118 Gustav Klutsis, *Youth – Into the Air!* 1934. Photomontage. Poster. Russian State Library, Moscow. Photo Fine Art Images/agefotostock.com

119 Mieczyslaw Berman, *Lindbergh*, 1927. Photomontage, 69.9 × 50.2 (27 ½ × 19 ¾). Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA), Gift of Nelly and Jim Kilroy through the 1990 Collectors Committee AC1997.236.1. Digital Image 2021 Museum Associates/LACMA/Art Resource NY/Scala, Florence

120 Valentina Kulagina, *Poster for International Women's Day*, 1930. Lithograph, 110 × 72.5 (43 ¼ × 28 ½). Photo Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island. © ARS, NY and DACS, London 2021

121 Paul Citroën, Metropolis, 1923. Collage of photographs, prints and postcards, 76.1 × 58.4 (29 $^{15}/_{16}$ × 23). Prentenkabinet, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. © DACS 2001

122 Otto Umbehr (Umbo), *Perspective of the Street*, 1926. Photograph (silverprint) 17.8 × 12.8 (7 × 5). Private Collection. Photo courtesy Sotheby's. © Phyllis Umbehr/Galerie Kicken Berlin/DACS 2021

123 Walther Ruttmann, publicity material for the film *Berlin*, 1927. Photomontage. Photo Everett Collection/Bridgeman Images

124 Kazimierz Podsadecki, *Modern City: melting pot of life*, 1928. Photomontage, 43 × 29 (16 $^{15}/_{16}$ × 11 $^{7}/_{16}$). Museum Sztuki, Łódź

125 Fritz Lang, montage of scenes from Metropolis, 1926. Photo BFI National Archive, London

126 Fritz Lang, still from *Metropolis*, 1926. Photo TCD/Prod. DB/Alamy Stock Photo

127 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, *Berlin Museums*, 1931. Photomontage mural for 'Fotomontage' exhibition, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, 1931. Photo Paris Musées, musée d'Art moderne, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/image ville de Paris. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

128 P. M. Bardi, *Panel of Horrors*, 1931. Photomontage. © Instituto Bardi/Casa de Vidro

129 Paul Citroën, *Brotenfeld*, 1928. Photocollage, 25.5 × 32.5 (10 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 12 $^{13}/_{16}$). Photo courtesy Galleria Schwartz, Milan. © DACS 2001

130 Kazimir Malevich, *Project for a Suprematist Skyscraper for New York City*, 1926

131 El Lissitzky, *Wolkenbügel*, Photomontage. Photo Art Collection 2/Alamy Stock Photo

132 Bohdan Lachert and Jozef Szanajca, *House design at 9 Katowicka Street*, 1928. Photomontage. Photo Museum of Architecture, Wrocław. Courtesy the estate of Bohdan Lachert

133 German postcard, *c*. 1914. Photomontage 13.5 × 8.8 (5 $^{5}/_{16}$ × 3 $^{7}/_{16}$). Altonaer Museum, Hamburg

134 Louise Straus-Ernst, *Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake*, 1920. Collage, 23 × 13.5 (9 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 5 $^{5}/_{16}$). Sprengel Museum, Hanover. Photo akg-images

135 Postcard of Piccadilly Circus as Venice, *c*. 1905. Photomontage, 9.6 × 14.3 (3 ¾ × 5 ⅝). Collection Aaron Scharf

136 Francis Picabia, *Tableau Rastadada*, 1920. Cut-and-pasted printed paper on paper with ink. 19 × 17.1 (7 ½ × 6 ¾). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (by exchange). © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

137 Théodore Fraenkel, *Artistique et sentimental*, 1921. Collage on paper, 32 × 23 (12 ⅝ × 9 $^{1}/_{16}$). Vera and Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art, Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo Luisa Ricciarini/Bridgeman Images. Courtesy estate of the artist

138 Kurt Schwitters, *Mz 158 The Kots Picture*, 1920. Collage, 27 × 19.5 (10 ⅝ × 7 $^{11}/_{16}$). Photo Aline Gwose/Michael Herling/Sprengel Museum Hannover/bpk

139 Karel Teige, *Zebra Ladies*, 1948. Gelatin silver print (photomontage), 23.2 × 17.9 (9 ⅛ × 7 $^{1}/_{16}$). Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri/Friends Fund/Bridgeman Images. Courtesy estate of the artist

140 Jindřich Štyrský, *Souvenir*, 1924. Paper, 23.9 × 30.2 (9 $^{7}/_{16}$ × 11 ⅞). National Gallery Prague. Photo Art Collection 3/Alamy Stock Photo

141 Max Ernst, *The Song of the Flesh*, 1920. Collage of photographs, gouache and pencil on cardboard, 15 × 20.8 (5 $^{15}/_{16}$ × 8 $^{3}/_{16}$). Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/image Centre Pompidou, MNAM-CCI. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

142 Max Ernst, *Here Everything is Still Floating*, 1920. Collage of printed photographs with pencil on paper, 16.5 × 21 (6 ½ × 8 ¼). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Purchase, 282.1937. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

143 Max Ernst, *Health Through Sport*, *c*. 1920. Photographic enlargement of a photomontage mounted on wood, 100 × 60 (39 ⅜ × 23 ⅝). Menil Foundation, Houston, Texas. Photo 2021 The Menil Collection. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

144 Max Ernst, *The Punching Ball* or *Max Ernst and Caesar Buonarotti*, 1920. Collage, photographs and gouache on paper, 17.6 × 11.5 (6 $^{15}/_{16}$ × 4 ½). Private collection. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

145 Max Ernst, *Untitled* or *The Murderous Aeroplane*, 1920. Collage of photographs on paper, 5.8 × 14.3 (2 ¼ × 5 ⅝). Menil Foundation, Houston, Texas. Photo Erich Lessing/akg-images. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

146 André Breton, *Automatic Writing*, 1938. Photomontage, 14.2 × 10 (5 $^{9}/_{16}$ × 3 $^{15}/_{16}$). Vera & Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art/Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Bridgeman Images. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

147 Max Ernst, *The Chinese Nightingale*, 1920. Collage, photographs and gouache on paper, 17.6 × 11.5 (6 $^{15}/_{16}$ × 4 ½). Private Collection. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

148 Man Ray, frontispiece (self-portrait) to *Minotaure*, no. 3–4, December 1933, Paris. © Man Ray 2015 Trust/DACS, London 2021

149 Eugene Atget, *Gentlemen's Fashions*, 1923–24. From 'The Studio', Vol. 98, 1929. Photo The Print Collector/Alamy Stock Photo

150 Albert Valentin, photomontage, reproduced in *Variétés*, Brussels, 1929–30

151 E. L. T. Mesens, *The Disconcerting Light*, 1926. Private collection. © DACS 2021

152 Max Ernst, *Loplop Introduces Members of the Surrealist Group*, 1931. Collage, photographs, frottage and crayon on paper, 50.1 × 33.6 (19 ¾ × 13 ¼). Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York, Purchase, 267.1935. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

153 André Breton, *The Serpent (Egg in the Church or the Snake)*, 1932. Photomontage, 18 × 11 (7 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 4 $^{5}/_{16}$). Photo courtesy Galleria Schwartz, Milan. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

154 Paul Nash, *Swanage, c*. 1936. Graphite, watercolour and photographs, black and white, on paper, 40 × 58.1 (15 ¾ × 22 ⅞). Tate Gallery, London

155 Roger Leigh, *Sarsens or Grey Wethers*, 1974. Photomontage triptych, 48 × 75 (18 ⅞ × 29 ½). Reproduced with permission of Nicholas Leigh

156 Marcel Mariën, *The Torrents of Spring*, 1966. Hair and tap, 67 × 22 × 12.3 (26 ⅜ × 8 $^{11}/_{16}$ × 4 $^{13}/_{16}$). Photo courtesy Fondation Marcel Mariën. © DACS 2021

157 Marcel Mariën, *Incest*, 1968. © DACS 2021

158 Marcel Duchamp, *Family Portrait, 1899*, 1964. Photomontage, 34 × 27 (13 ⅜ × 10 ⅝). Photo courtesy Galleria Schwartz, Milan. © Association Marcel Duchamp/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

159 Marcel Duchamp, cover of *View*, March 1945, New York. Sheet dimensions 30.5 × 23 (12 × 9 $^{1}/_{16}$). Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, 1950, 1950-134-1061. © Association Marcel Duchamp/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

160 Friedrich Kiesler, *Les larves d'imagie d' Henri Robert Marcel Duchamp*, 1945. Folding photographic triptych. From *View* V, no. 1, March 1945 (Duchamp issue), New York. © 2021 Austrian Frederick and Lillian Kiesler Private Foundation, Vienna

161 Claude Cahun, from *Aveux non avenus* "*Sous ce masque un autre masque…*" (*Disavowed Confessions or I.O.U.* (*Self-Pride*)), 1929–30

162 Gyula Halasz Brassaï, *Ciel Postiche*, 1935, from *Minotaure*, no. 6, Paris, 1934/5. Photo RMN-Grand Palais/Michèle Bellot. © Estate Brassaï

163 Hannah Höch, *Foreign Beauty*, 1929. Collage, 32 × 23. Photo courtesy Galleria Schwartz, Milan. © DACS 2021

164 Hannah Höch, from the collection *From an Ethnographic Museum*, 1929. Collage, 25.6 × 17 (10 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 6 $^{11}/_{16}$). Private collection. Photo courtesy Annely Juda Fine Art, London. © DACS 2021

165 Raoul Hausmann, *L'Acteur*, 1946. Photomontage. Private Collection. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

166 Max Ernst, *Les Pléiades*, 1921. Collage of photographs, gouache and oil, 25 × 18 (9 $^{13}/_{16}$ × 7 $^{1}/_{16}$). Private collection. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

167 Pierre Molinier, *Les Hanel 2*, 1928. Photomontage for *Le Chaman et ses Créatures* by Roland Villeneuve. Photo courtesy Roger Cardinal. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

168 Frederick Sommer, *Max Ernst*, 1946. Gelatin silver print, 19.2 × 24.1 (7 $^{9}/_{16}$ × 9 ½). Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 585.1953. © Frederick and Frances Sommer Foundation

169 Johannes Baargeld, *Venus at the Game of the Kings*, 1920. Collage, 37 × 27.5 (14 $^{9}/_{16}$ × 10 $^{13}/_{16}$). Kunsthaus, Zürich. Photo Heritage Image Partnership Ltd/Alamy Stock Photo

170 Raoul Ubac, *Penthesilia*, 1937 from *Minotaure*, no. 10, Winter, 1937, Paris. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

171 Joseph Cornell, *Untitled* (Breton collage)/*Le Tournesol de Minuit*, 1966. Photocollage, 40.6 × 31.7 (16 × 12 ½). Collection Susan Sontag. © The Joseph and Robert Cornell Memorial Foundation/VAGA at ARS, NY and DACS, London 2021

172 Georges Hugnet, *Untitled*, 1936. Collection Timothy Baum, New York. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

173 René Magritte, *Paris Opera*, 1929, from *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, Paris, 1929. Detroit Institute of Art, Founders Society Purchase, Lee and Tina Hills Graphic Arts Fund, F1983.1. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

174 Hans Hollein, *Rolls-Royce Grill from Wall Street*, 1966. Montage. Collection Barbara Plumb, New York. © Private Archive Hollein

175 Herbert Bayer, *The Language of Letters*, 1931. Photomontage, 43.2 × 33 (17 × 13). Courtesy Marlborough Gallery, London. © DACS 2021

176 Herbert Bayer, *The Lonely Metropolitan*, 1932. Gelatin silver print photomontage, with gouache and airbrush, 41 × 29.8 (16 ⅛ × 11 ¾). Private Collection. Photo © Christie’s Images/Bridgeman Images. © DACS 2021

177 Andrew Lanyon, *Eclipse*, *c.* 1967

178 Andrew Lanyon, *Seahorse*, 1968

179 Michel Remy and John Welson, *The Tragedy of Katherine of Aragon*, from *André Breton’s Arcane 17*, 2015. 48 × 32 (18 ⅞ × 12 ⅝). Private Collection. Courtesy Michel Remy and John Welson

180 Grete Stern, *Sueño nro 7*, *Quien Será*, 1949. Gelatin silver print. © Galería Jorge Mara-La Ruche, Buenos Aires. Courtesy the Grete Stern Foundation

181 Grete Stern, *Sueño nro 20*, *Perspectiva*, 1949. © Galería Jorge Mara-La Ruche, Buenos Aires. Courtesy the Grete Stern Foundation

182 Maurice Tabard, *Hand and Woman*, 1929. Collection of Robert Shapazian, Fresno, California. Photo Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C.

183 Kathy Bruce, *Menina II*, from *Tapadas, Saints and other Heroines*, 2012. 25.4 × 33 (10 × 13). Courtesy the artist

184 Jan Švankmajer, still from *Surviving Life*, 2010. Photo Everett Collection Inc./Alamy Stock Photo. © Athanor Ltd

185 Eduardo Paolozzi, *Collage over African Sculpture* or *Hamburg Figure*, 1960. 25.5 × 14.9 (10 $^{1}/_{16}$ × 5 ⅞). © The Paolozzi Foundation, Licensed by DACS 2021

186 Nigel Henderson, *Head of a Man*, 1956. Photographic collage on paper mounted on board, 159.8 × 121.5 (62 ¼ × 47 ⅝). Tate Gallery, London. © The estate of Nigel Henderson

187 Jacques Brunius, *Ad Nauseam*, 1944. Collage. Photo courtesy Verlag M. Dumont Schauberg, Cologne. © Jacques Brunius/les films d’équinoxe

188 Penny Slinger, *The Absymal*, 1975. From *An Exorcism*. Photomontage 38.1 × 45.7 (15 × 18). © Penny Slinger. All Rights Reserved, DACS 2021

189 Jerry Uelsmann, *Untitled*, 1983. Collection the artist. Courtesy Jerry N. Uelsmann

190 Jordi Cerdà, *De la Suite Freud-Lacan 3*, 1985. Photomontage with collage and painting, 80 × 100 (31 ½ × 39 ⅜). Collection the artist. Courtesy the artist

191 Conroy Maddox, *Uncertainty of the Day*, 1942. Collage of photographs and gouache, 14.9 × 20 (5 ⅞ × 7 ⅞). Collection the artist. Photo courtesy Silviano Levy, by kind permission of the artist's daughter

192 Lajos Kassak, *The Raven*, *c*. 1963–67. Collage and ink on paper, 29 × 39.1 (11 7/16 × 15 ⅜). Private Collection. © DACS 2021

193 Terry Gilliam, photomontage for *Monty Python* TV series, 1971. Courtesy Terry Gilliam & Python (Monty) Pictures Ltd. Photo © Terry Gilliam

194 Claes Oldenburg, *Lipsticks in Piccadilly Circus, London*, 1966. Clipping on postcard, 10.5 × 14 (4 ⅛ × 5 ½) on card, 25.4 × 20.3 (10 × 8). Photo courtesy the Oldenburg van Bruggen Studio and Paula Cooper Gallery, New York. © 1966 Claes Oldenburg

195 Richard Hamilton, *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?*, 1956. Collage on paper, 26 × 25 (10 ¼ × 9 ⅞). Kunsthalle, Tübingen, Prof. Dr. Georg Zundel Collection. © R. Hamilton. All Rights Reserved, DACS 2021

196 Joan Rabascall, *repetition IBM 360-2*, 1965. Collage on canvas. Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA). Courtesy the artist. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

197 John Stezaker, *Negotiable Space I*, 1978. Collage, 20.6 × 25.3 (8 ⅛ × 9 15/16). Photo Alex Delfanne. Courtesy the artist and The Approach, London

198 John Stezaker, *Mask XXXV*, 2007. Collage, 26 × 20.5 (10 ¼ × 8 ⅛). Courtesy the artist and The Approach, London. All rights belong to the artist

199 *Spare Rib* cover, March 1973. Photo The Advertising Archives/Alamy Stock Photo

200 Linder, *Fantesse*, 2013. Photomontage, 20 × 16.5 (7 ⅞ × 6 ½). © Linder Sterling. Courtesy the artist and Modern Art London; dépendance, Brussels; Andréhn-Schiptjenko, Stockholm, Paris; and Blum & Poe, Los Angeles, New York, Tokyo

201 Linder, *Untitled*, 1977. Tate Gallery, London. © Linder Sterling

202 László Moholy-Nagy, *Structure of the World (The Edifice of the World)*, 1927. Photomontage, 64.9 × 49.2 (25 9/16 × 19 ⅜). Private Collection. Fine Art Images/Heritage Image Partnership Ltd/Alamy Stock Photo

203 Man Ray, *Rayogram: Kiki Drinking*, 1922. © Man Ray 2015 Trust/DACS, London 2021

204 Florence Henri, *Abstract Composition*, 1932. Photomontage. Courtesy Martini and Ronchetti, Genoa

205 László Moholy-Nagy, *Photogram: Lightening Rod*, 1941. Photo International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester

206 Herbert Bayer, cover of *Bauhaus I*, 1928. Photomontage. © DACS 2021

207 Herbert Bayer, *Metamorphosis*, 1936. Photomontage, 33 × 43.2 (13 × 17). Courtesy Marlborough Gallery, London. © DACS 2021

208 El Lissitzky, *The Constructor* (*self-portrait*), 1924, printed 1970. Gelatin silver print, 22.5 × 24.7 (8 ⅞ × 9 ¾). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

209 Kazimir Malevich, *Analytical Chart*, 1924–27. Cut-and-pasted printed paper, gelatin silver prints, ink, and pencil on paper, 72.4 × 98.4 (28 ½ × 38 ¾). Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1935. Acquisition confirmed in 1999 by agreement with the Estate of Kazimir Malevich and made possible with funds from the Mrs. John Hay Whitney Bequest (by exchange), 820.1935

210 Christian Schad, *Schadograph*, 1918. Gelatin silver printout-out-paper print, 16.8 × 12.7 (6 ⅝ × 5). Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase, 287.1937. © Christian Schad Stiftung Aschaffenburg/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn and DACS, London 2021

211 László Moholy-Nagy, *Leda and the Swan*, 1925. Gelatin silver print, collage, 17.5 × 12.6 (6 ⅞ × 4 $^{15}/_{16}$). Photo akg-images

212 László Moholy-Nagy, *The Law of Series*, 1925. Gelatin silver print, photomontage, 21.4 × 16.3 (8 $^{7}/_{16}$ × 6 $^{7}/_{16}$). Collection Museum of Modern Art, New York, Anonymous gift, 495.1939

213 László Moholy-Nagy, *Jealousy*, 1930. Photomontage, collage, pencil and ink, 63.8 × 56 (25 ⅛ × 22 $^{1}/_{16}$). The George Eastman Museum, Rochester

214 László Moholy-Nagy, *The Shooting Gallery*, 1925. Photomontage, 27.6 × 36.8 (10 ⅞ × 14 ½). Fukuoka Art Museum

215 Jan Tschichold, poster for the film *Die Frau ohne Namen*, 1928

216 Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, *Untitled*, 1928. Collage and photomontage, 40.3 × 28.9 (15 ⅞ × 11 ⅜). Musée d'art Moderne, Grenoble. © Vordemberge-Gildewart Foundation, Rapperswil/Switzerland

217 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, *Energy*, 1951. Photomontage, 63.5 × 49 (25 × 19 $^{5}/_{16}$). Courtesy Martini and Ronchetti, Genoa. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2021

218 Tim Head, *Equilibrium* (*Knife's Edge*), 1976. Photograph, 38.4 × 37.8 (15 ⅛ × 14 ⅞). Courtesy the artist

219 Piet Zwart, advertisement for Nijgh en Van Ditmar, 1931. Photomontage 17.5 × 25 (6 ⅞ × 9 $^{13}/_{16}$). Collection Haags Gemeente-museum, The Hague. © DACS 2021

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224 Kathy Bruce, *Beautiful Deadly Flowers*, 2020. 27.9 × 40.6 (11 × 16). Commissioned by the Oak Spring Garden Foundation. Courtesy the artist

225 Linder, *Cakewalk Balletomane*, 2010. Photomontage, 27.7 × 20.6 (10.9 × 8.1). © Linder Sterling. Courtesy the artist and Modern Art London; dépendance, Brussels; Andréhn-Schiptjenko, Stockholm, Paris; and Blum & Poe, Los Angeles, New York, Tokyo

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